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XI

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES

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GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES

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No. C

भट्टश्रीलक्ष्मीधरविरचिते

कृत्यकल्पतरौ

एकादशो भागः

॥ राजधर्मकाण्डम् ॥

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KṚTYAKALPATARU

OF

BHAṬṬA LAKṢMĪDHARA

Vol. XI. RĀJADHARMAKĀṆḌA

Edited by

K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR

Baroda

Oriental Institute

1943

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PREFACE

ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY has been for many years in the front line of topics of academic interest. The 'discovery' of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and its publication a decade later in 1909, was to oriental scholarship as *the discovery the Institutes of Gaius* in 1816 was to students of Roman Law. The publication of its text and English translation coincided roughly with the beginnings of the movement for Indian *Svarāj*. Political interest proved both a stimulus and a handicap. It drew many students to the study of our ancient political institutions. At the same time, it developed a tendency to see occasionally in the evidence it furnished much more than was strictly justified by critical scrutiny. Since then, a considerable literature on the ancient Indian theory of the state and Indian administrative institutions has come into existence. In the synthesis attempted in modern works, texts of Dharmaśāstra have come to be drawn on side by side with those of the much smaller literature of Arthaśāstra. The tendency, however, has been to treat the former as subsidiary to the latter. Dharmaśāstra is held to present ideals, which were never wholly put into practice, while Arthaśāstra or Nītiśāstra is considered more valuable because more realistic. Students of *smṛti* and Arthaśāstra overlook the classical distinction between the two, familiar to their predecessors centuries ago, and agree in holding Arthaśāstra as wanting in the

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canonical sanction that lay behind *smṛti.* The error has spread even among paṇḍits professing to follow tradition. In a polemic work, composed in recent years by three distinguished paṇḍits, in which certain reforms were subjected to criticism as contrary to Hindu Dharma, a specified view is summarily rejected on the ground (which itself is baseless) that it is an Arthas'āstra dictum.[1] As I have showed elsewhere, Arthas'āstra is among the eighteen sources of Dharma, and it is also brought under one of the Upa-Vedas.[2] The rule in *smṛti* that in a conflict between Arthas'āstra and Dharmas'āstra the former must give way, refers not to the general inferiority of the former class to the latter, but to the superiority in Indian convention of rules which have an *adṛṣṭa-phala* behind them to those for which a visible benefit (*dṛṣṭa-phala*) can be shown. Both *smṛtis* and works on Arthas'āstra contain many dicta, under both these categories, and the standard set between the two must be applied in both. Concurrence of *smṛti* and Arthas'āstra *may* indicate a close approximation to actual practice, where action is guided solely by volition or custom, but it will not make an action for which a *dṛṣṭa-phala* can be quoted of the same value as acts for which the sanction is based on their enshrining an *adṛṣṭa-phala.* The criticism levelled against behaviourism—that it fails to furnish as secure a basis for ethics as transcendental sanction—is analogous to that levelled against *artha* rules as compared with Dharma precepts. The former are commendatory while the latter are mandatory. An *artha* precept may be over-ruled by even another *artha* precept, but no Dharma rule can be over-ruled at all. If a Dharma precept *seems* to be in conflict with another, the difference must be treated, in Indian convention, as apparent but not

[1] *Dharmapradīpa*, Calcutta, 1937.
[2] *Rājadharma*, 1941, p. 95.

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real, and as indicative of either a possibility of reconciliation or of allowing options to conduct.

Many of those who have attempted a synthesis of our old polity by utilizing indiscriminately the data furnished by both sources, without visualizing the traditional values of the two types of dicta, which writers on both Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra have accepted, have been led away from a correct apprehension of basic political doctrines and facts, and have made statements and drawn conclusions which are not correct or sound. Training in traditional methods of study and interpretation, for which many modern students evince little respect, is vital if one should grasp thoroughly teachings, stated cryptically or with exasperating brevity, in books of which the authorized interpretation has been transmitted only orally. Referring to the Buddhist Canon, T. W. Rhys Davids long ago uttered the warning that a *sūtra* book was not intended to be *read*; it was to be used merely as a syllabus of headlines, to be filled up by lessons from those who had received its interpretation orally from their teachers, to whom it had descended in similar fashion through countless generations of past teachers.[1] The harm done to scholarship by the absence of such a training is intensified by two further causes: the first is the habit of using ancient books in modern translations, often made by writers imbued with a contempt for the traditional interpretation that they had not themselves acquired; the second is ignoring the background in which the thought has to be viewed. Since the days of Max Müller, who visualized the risk in regard to the study of Indian philosophical systems, an indication of the common postulates of our philosophical systems finds some place in modern books on Indian philosophy.[2] In studies of ancient Indian political theory and law, the practice is

[1] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I. Preface, pp. xx—xxii.

[2] *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, *passim*.

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not followed. To read the present into the past is an admitted defect in historical writing, in spite of the essential unity of human nature, which makes it possible to presume *ordinarily* that the same historic causes will have the same reactions at all times and places, *other things being equal.* A similar tendency may be recognized in many modern presentations of ancient Indian political thought in which the qualification implicit in the underlined clause is usually disregarded or forgotten. Much that seems trivial or absurd or unreasonable might be found to be quite defensible if the limiting conditions are recognized.

The point may be illustrated by reference to the contents of the *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru.* To one who would approach its study, let us say, in an English version, or even to one who reads it, as if it was a self-contained book, Lakṣmīdhara's treatment of *Rājadharma* will appear as lacking in a sense of proportion and as dominated by sectional motives. Over and over again the apparent privileges of one *varṇa* seem to be emphasized unjustifiably. Undue importance appears to be ascribed to ritual and magic, to the detailed description of omens and portents, and similar themes which offend our reason and taste. But it must be remembered that Lakṣmīdhara wrote at a time when India was on the eve of the Muslim conquest, and the air was filled with anxiety. In such times, men turn back to old beliefs in magic and ritual, which are enshrined in popular memory. We can see it today ! The signs can be read in history under similar circumstances in many countries in which the same vague fear of impending evil was oppressively present in the minds of both the common people and responsible leaders. True to the ideals of a *nibandhakāra*, who selects only just those things as have Dharma sanction, Lakṣmīdhara indicates only those rites which (unlike the proverbial *S'yena-yāga*) have Dharma

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authority behind them, for the state to perform with care and devotion, to ward off any unforeseen dangers that threaten the kingdom. His citation of Purāṇic authority for the rites described in the concluding chapters provides canonical validity for those festivals and ceremonies. There are hundreds of similar ceremonies, which he has not included, and of which he must have been cognizant. The implications of the selection and conscious omission will appear only from a knowledge of the omitted rites. He must have believed, like his king and contemporaries, in their efficacy. The reassertion of the old sacerdotalism is explicable on the same grounds, as it is in the context of the Gupta empire, at the time of its rise, after the period of Indo-Bactrian, Parthian and S'āka contacts, or at its decline when it had to face the Hūṇa inundation.

In studying a work like the *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* of Lakṣmīdhara, proper comprehension requires two other antecedent conditions. Firstly, this section has to be read in relation to all the other sections of the treatise. Its position in the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* is not a matter of accident. Lakṣmīdhara, with one possible exception,—and that a contemporary,[1]—was the first of the *nibandhakāras* to provide a special section for *Rājadharma*, in its narrower sense. His example was not immediately followed. A section on the subject was not contemplated by Caṇḍes'vara in his *Dharmaratnākara*. His *Rājanīti-ratnākara* was composed when he had become an octogenarian, by special request of his king. The title *Rājanīti* is significant. Dharmas'astra lays down what is obligatory, while *Nīti-s'āstra* deals with what is advisable. It is noteworthy that with rigorous consistency, Lakṣmīdhara deals only with what is laid down in *smṛtis*, Purāṇas and other

[1] Gopāla, author of the *Kāmadhenu*, now lost. A section of it on *Rājanīti* is referred to by Caṇḍes'vara.

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sources of Dharma and does not quote any work on Nītis'āstra or Arthas'āstra. Caṇḍes'vara does so, and so do Mitramis'ra, Nīlakaṇṭha and Anantadeva. The constitutional implication of the difference is worth noting. To go against what is enjoined in Dharmas'āstra is a dereliction of duty, but to go against what is advised in Nītis'āstra only amounts to unwisdom. Nītis'āstra derives its authority from the great names behind its authorship (*e.g.* Kauṭilya, S'ukra) and from its appeal to reason. A work of the class is not correlated to any other work. In a digest of Dharma, every section must be construed in relation not only to every other section of the same work but to the entire body of Dharma literature, including *all* its sources. Primarily, it must be consistent with the rest of the digest. The same topic will be treated in a digest in different sections, as viewed from different angles: *e.g. varṇa* immunities, crimes, marriage etc. A *nibandha* must be read as a whole and judged as a whole, and not section by section, as if the parts were unrelated and not inter-dependent.

Judged in this way, the first thing to note is that the duty of a king is both personal and official, and the two are inseparable, so long as one is king. The slender sections on *rājadharma* in *smṛtis* claim to deal with the personal duty (*guṇa-dharma*) of the consecrated Kṣatriya (*murdhābhiṣikta*), which includes the duties of his station, of his *varṇa* and his *ās'rama* (Gṛhastha). The comprehensive duty of the king is to maintain the scheme of *varṇa* and *ās'rama*, and *paripālana*, (protection, in the widest sense) includes this. The King and the Brāhmaṇa are said to uphold jointly the world-order, and to have undertaken a lifelong vow to do so (*dhṛta-vratau*). Neither can change the social order or alter its features to the slightest extent. The all-embracing obligation thus laid upon the ruler, *i.e.*, the State, makes it necessary that the head of the executive, *i.e.*, the Rājan, must treat *all* Dharma as *his* duty,

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Rājadharma. After Arthas'āstra works grew in number and in influence, *Rājadharma* and *Rājanīti* were sometimes confused with each other, and the former came to mean only the enfeebled description of the state administration and the daily duties of the king. By overlooking the background of *Rājadharma*, even in the restricted sense, and reading the sections on it apart from their context in a large digest, much of political and institutional value is missed. In no other part of Dharmas'āstra is the task of interpretation by reference to the *entire* content of Dharma more necessary than in that which bears the title of *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*. It has been the aim of the Introduction, prefixed to this edition of the eleventh section of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*, which bears this title, to attempt this task.

Looked at in the light shed by the rest of Dharma literature, this section will be found to be both interesting and significant. When Lakṣmīdhara composed his digest, Indian independence had not been lost. He served a powerful king, and held, after his father, the position of chief minister in a great kingdom. With the exception of Caṇḍes'vara, the later writers on *Rājadharma* or *Rājanīti* were paṇḍits, not statesmen. The range of Lakṣmīdhara's reading is as wide as that of the best digest writers. A feature in which he excels is his faculty for selection and for terse comment. His views have to be inferred as much from his omissions as from his express citations. Later writers had neither his discrimination, nor perhaps his recognized authority. They became diffuse, repeated themselves, and padded their works with needless citations on the same topics.

From the scrutiny of this section and its study in relation to the wide literature of Dharma, a number of conclusions emerge, which are detailed in the Introduction. Among them may be mentioned the conception of kingship as a position of dedicated service, and the

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exposal of the misuse of the theory of the divine origin of kingship in a defence of royal absolutism. There is no right divine to do wrong. The significance of the rite of *abhiṣeka* as a 'new birth' emerges. It is shown how the social balance as well as internal order and external security, was ensured with the minimum of violence under *Rājadharma*, in which *duties* were described and not prerogatives. There was no need to a king to take a coronation oath to rule justly. The obligation was implicit in the office of king, as part of *rāja-dharma*. A proper balance between the use of force and the maintenance of the rule of *ahimsā* resulted from it. The power of *daṇḍa* which was vested in the king, was not to be exercised capriciously, but only in accordance with rule.

For many years *Rājadharma* has occupied the leisure of the editor, both in its wider and its narrower connotations. His results have been given in his *Considerations on Ancient Indian Polity* (1914, second edn. 1935, Madras University), *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic Thought* (1934, Benares Hindu University) and *Indian Cameralism* (Calcutta University, 1934). In his lectures in the University of Madras on *Rājadharma* (Adyar Library, 1941) an attempt has been made to provide the prolegomena to the study of the literature of Dharmaśāstra. Reference to these may be permitted, as they carry on the consideration of aspects and topics, which have not been dealt with in the Introduction to this section of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru.*

Rājadharmakāṇḍa is the eleventh section of Lakṣmīdhara's *nibandha*, and the third to be published, its predecessors in publication being the *Dānakāṇḍa* and the *Tīrthakāṇḍa*, which form the fifth and eighth parts of the digest. In the Introduction to the last, the reasons for not following in publication the natural sequence of the sections have been briefly stated. A complete set of the *nibandha* does not exist anywhere now, except in my

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possession. Two parts which were wanting, out of the fourteen, were discovered by me. Till recently, the beginning of one *kāṇḍa* was defective; it has since been rectified by the discovery of a second manuscript. Even now the concluding portion of one of the earliest sections, for which only one manuscript is available, seems wanting. The manuscripts represent the achievement of generations of ignorant or careless scribes, and abound in omissions, wrong conjunctions and repetitions, as well as grammatical and scriptorial errors. Lakṣmīdhara had a wide repertory, and many of the works he cites are now lost. Several of them were in prose or in *sūtra* form. He had a high sense of textual accuracy, and his readings, where they differed from accepted versions, have been deferentially noticed by later writers, even when they related to the texts of *smṛtis* which had been commented on by distinguished scholiasts like Medhātithi or Vis'varūpa. Further, as regards the bulk of extant *smṛtis*, the texts have not even now been established definitively. This may be seen in *Vasiṣṭhasmṛti*, and to a smaller extent in *Viṣṇusmṛti*.[1] In editing the oldest surviving digest, an obligation therefore rests on its editor to collect *every* manuscript of *every* section of it, which is known to be in existence or which assiduous exploration may reveal. Many editions of *nibandhas* abound in errors which such an exhaustive survey might have avoided.

The feeling of responsibility for presenting as full material as a collation of *all* available manuscripts can furnish has weighed upon the editor. The *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* fortunately existed in a manuscript, which was fairly complete and correct and came from the almost complete set in the Udaipur Palace.[2] It was immediately made the basis of the rough press copy. Soon after

[1] My edition of *Viṣṇusmṛti* with the *Kes'ava-Vaijayanti* is in the press, and will be published in the Adyar Library Series.

[2] It bears the date Samvat 1612 *i.e.*, 1565 A.D.

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(between June and September 1937) the manuscript in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. III, G. 76) was secured and compared with the press copy. The Calcutta manuscript bears the date 1805 A.D. and it is a modern transcript. Some manuscripts of the *kāṇḍa*, whose existence came to my notice subsequently (*e.g.*, those in the Varendra Research Society, Rājashāhi, and in the Samskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, Shyam Bazar, Calcutta) are merely copies of this manuscript. Of the two manuscripts in the India Office, which were also obtained for collation, only one had individual features. This bore the number 1386 and it is described in Eggeling's *Catalogue* of the Library. The other manuscript furnished very few readings, was very defective in orthography and grammar, and claimed only to be a transcript made in 1865 A.D. of an older manuscript dated 1695, in an era that is not specified in the appended chronogram. After all these manuscripts had been utilized in collation, the press copy was sent to the press and the printing was finished upto the end of Appendix D before the end of 1938. While the printed sheets were kept aside, pending my getting the requisite leisure for preparing an introduction, I came to know that a manuscript of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*, which contained the *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, existed in the Anūp Library at Bikanir, though it was repeatedly declared as lost and not discoverable, when I applied for its loan. I obtained a transcript of it after several months, and added its readings as Appendix F. The date of this manuscript is Samvat 1737.

Interruptions due to my work in connection with the starting of S'rī Veṅkaṭes'vara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, and the Tenth session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati, as well as other causes of a personal nature, delayed the composition of the Introduction that was felt to be necessary for a proper

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comprehension of the *kāṇḍa*. Thus a book which has been virtually in print for four years is released only now.

A year ago, when I was at Delhi, I saw an advertisement of an edition of *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* in the catalogue of a Lahore publisher. I obtained a copy of it and have now examined it. It has been edited and published at Lahore by Mr. Jagadish Lal Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., a research scholar of the Punjab University. It claims to be based on only one manuscript, *viz.* that of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It has an introduction in English which endeavours to furnish some information on Lakṣmīdhara, the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* and the available manuscripts of the *nibandha* as described in the published Catalogues of Manuscripts, Peterson's *Report* of 1883, and Rai Bahadur Man Mohan Chakravarty's papers in the J.A.S.B., 1915. A short account of Lakṣmīdhara, from Mahāmahopadhyāya P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, volume I, is furnished. Mr. Jagadish Lal Shastri makes no reference to the edition of the *Dāna-Kāṇḍa*, which was published towards the end of 1941, as volume XCII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series and to the Introduction of that volume where the date of Lakṣmīdhara and of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* is discussed, though his edition first appeared in the Lahore Oriental College Magazine only in May 1942. Since 1938 the fact of an edition of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* being in preparation or in the press, has been notified in the lists added to the volumes of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

The Lahore edition contains several errors both in the Introduction and in the body of the text. A few may be mentioned. On p. 5 of the Introduction, India Office Manuscript No. 1385, which contains only the *Dānakāṇḍa* (and which has been used in my edition of that *kāṇḍa*) is described as containing twelve kāṇḍas ! The mistake seems to be due to taking the description of the digest, which is appended to the descriptive note in the *Catalogue*, as an

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indication of the contents of *this* manuscript. About eighteen instances were noticed in which the text, while claiming to follow the Asiatic Society's manuscript, has substituted for its readings those of Mitramis'ra's *Rājanīti-prakās'a.* On p. 57 the omission of some words in line 11 of the text makes it unintelligible. On p. 58 a *sūtra* of *Viṣṇu-smṛti* (III,15) is combined with a comment, as if it were a part of it. On p. 63 a big gap of about two pages in the manuscript used has not been detected, with the result that a part of a *sūtra* of *Vasiṣṭhasmṛti* and a comment on it have been telescoped with a *sūtra* of *Viṣṇusmṛti.* On p. 100 a *sūtra* of *Viṣṇusmṛti* is printed as a comment on a passage of *Manusmṛti.* These examples are illustrative. They point to the risks which are inevitable, when one attempts to print from only one manuscript, an important section of a *nibandha* of which other manuscripts are known to exist.

It remains to make an acknowledgment of my obligations. In passing the edition through the press, I have been assisted by Mahāmahopādhyāya A. Chinna-swami Sastri, now Principal of the College of Oriental Learning in the Benares Hindu University as well as by my former student and frequent collaborator Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T. of the Adyar Library. The General Editor of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Rājya-ratna, Jñānajyoti Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., was compelled by the rule of the India Office precluding its manuscripts going out of the custody of the borrower, to do himself the collation of my press copy with the India Office Manuscripts. Such labor is not part of a General Editor's duty. I am specially grateful to him for having undertaken the task. I am under a special debt to Sir V. T. Krishnamacharya, K. C. I. E., Prime Minister of Baroda, for having secured for my use, a trans-cript of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* manuscript in the Anūp Library, Bikanir, after my attempts to do so had failed,

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I learned of the existence of this manuscript in Bikanir, after it had been declared lost, through *Tarkatīrtha* Paṇḍit Laxman Shastri Joshi, the erudite editor of *Dharmakos'a* and his assistants. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil. of the University of Madras, obtained for me particulars of the manuscript in the Anūp Library, which enabled me to secure a transcript of it ultimately through the Baroda Government. I am grateful to Mr. C. Subbarayudu, Superintendent of the Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras, for kindly undertaking the printing of the Introduction and preliminary matter in spite of other commitments.

Vasumatī Vilās
Mylapore, Madras,
20th December, 1943

K. V. RANGASWAMI

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ERRATA

१८, १२, दीर्घदर्शी for दीर्घत्रर्शी

३१, १५, 'सर्पाः' for सर्पाः

४२, ६, स्निग्धैः for 'सिद्धैः;'

५२, २१, I. O., व्रतैः, A. S. B., ऽऽव्रता for 1, O. व्रतैः

६१. २२, 'before' for 'befor'

८१, ९, दशाध्याक्षाय for देशध्यक्षाय

१०४, ३. श्रृरान् for शरान्

१०७, १८, Maṇḍalas for Mandalas

१०८ Last line, 'First' for Frist

१०९, १५ Add * after आद्याश्वतस्त्रः

१८९, १९, omits for 'appropriatos'

१०९, २१, 'continues' for 'contrives'

११४, ७, Manusamhitā for Manusamhita

१४४, १६, Mitramis'ra for Mitramisra

१४६, १५, Paṇḍita for Pandita

१५२, ९, Add, (३, ८६-९०) after विष्णुः

Introduction

p. 1, l. 15 *Kaustubha* for Kauṣtubha

p. 62, l. 4 Insert 'is' before "to safeguard"

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INTRODUCTION

THE PLACE OF RĀJADHARMA IN A DIGEST

IN the scheme of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* the eleventh and twelfth sections are assigned to the exposition of *Rājadharma* and *Vyavahāra*. The *specific* duties of the king include the administration of law and justice. *Vyavahāra* is logically comprehended in *Rājadharma* in its narrower or specialised form. But its volume and complexity justify its treatment in a section by itself. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* assigns, for instance, its central division to *Vyavahāra*, but even there the treatment of *Vyavahāra* follows closely on the heels of the exposition of the specific duties of the crowned *kṣatriya* in the *Ācāra* section. The intimate connection between royal duties and law and procedure is the justification for some writers, like Anantadeva, the author of *Rājadharma-kaustubha*, who treat of *Vyavahāra* in their treatises on *Rāja-dharma*. The relegation of the duties of the king and the administration of law and justice to almost the end of a comprehensive exposition of Dharma is also noteworthy. To a modern student, law and polity have more attraction than the description of the duties of the castes (*varṇa*) and orders (*āśrama*). In the Hindu view of life a king's efficient discharge of his duties is only the means to the end of all human activity, *viz.*, freedom from rebirth (*mokṣa*). The ruler qualifies for it by discharging the duties of his station in the approved manner. The progress of his subjects towards the goal is rendered possible only if the head of civil society sees that there is order and justice within the state, protection for every one from external danger and from seasonal vicissitudes, which are due to the neglect of his spiritual or sacramental duties,[1] and that the state

[1] Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 9, 7-8 on the long drought in Aṅga—

एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु रोमपादः प्रतापवान् ।
अङ्गेषु प्रथितो राजा भविष्यति महाबलः ॥

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maintains *varṇās'rama-dharma* and prevents the confusion which will spring from persons abandoning the duties of their station and birth and taking up other duties and from mixture of castes (*varṇasamkara*).

The Social Balance

The function of the ruler, *i.e.*, of the state, is to maintain the social balance or, to vary the metaphor, to keep the ring. Every person's salvation depends primarily on his own efforts. He approaches or recedes from the goal according as he fulfils his appointed duties or neglects them. In the four stages of life, (*ās'rama*), the first is mainly educative, while the last signifies a withdrawal from society, except to the extent of being dependent on society for the support of life till the moment of dissolution arrives. Society, as well as all individual and social effort, is based on the existence of the second *ās'rama*, *i.e.*, of the householder (*gṛhastha*).[1] He alone is competent to discharge the triple debt (*ṛna-traya*) in which man is born, *viz.*, the debt to sages (*ṛṣi-ṛṇa*), the debt to the gods (*deva-ṛṇa*), and the debt to progenitors (*pitṛ-ṛṇa*), and he does so by study and teaching, by worship and by continuing the family line by marriage and progeny.[2] The second stage of life (*gṛhasthās'rama*) is also the only one of the four to which men of every caste (*varṇa*) are eligible.

In the orderly sequence of divisions of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*, the first section deals with the first stage of life (*brahmacaryās'-rama*) and the second undertakes a general survey of the second

तस्य व्यतिक्रमाद्राज्ञो भविष्यति सुदारुणा ।
अनावृष्टिस्सुघोरा वै सर्वभूतभयावहा ॥

See the references in my *Ancient Indian Polity*, 1935, p. 108, and my *Rāja-dharma*, 1941, pp. 102-109.

[1] See the *Brahmacārikāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, and *Manusmṛti*, III, 77-80, *Vasiṣṭha*, VIII, 14-16, and *Viṣṇusmṛti*, LXIX, 27-29.

[2] देवानाञ्च पितॄणाञ्च ऋषीणाञ्च तथा नरः ।
ऋणवान् जायते यस्मात्तन्मोक्षे प्रयतेत्सदा ॥
देवानामनृणो जन्तुः यज्ञैर्भवति मानवः ।
अल्पवित्तश्च पूजाभिरुपवासव्रतैस्तथा ॥
श्राद्धेन प्रजया चैव पितॄणामनृणो भवेत् ।
ऋषीणां ब्रह्मचर्येण श्रुतेन तपसा तथा ॥
इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । See also महाभारत, आदि, ६३, २५.

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stage (*gṛhasthāśrama*), followed up in the third by details of the householder's daily duties (*āhnika*). The next seven sections deal with the various ways in which the householder (and sometimes men of the other *āśramas* also) may effectively discharge the debts to the gods, to God and to ancestors. These are open in varying degrees to members of all *varṇas*. On the second *varṇa*, *viz.*, the *kṣatriya* devolves the duty of assuming the protection of the entire society and of maintaining the social order by undertaking the functions and obligations of government.[1] The eleventh section naturally follows with a treatment of the specific duties (*guṇadharma*) of the consecrated *kṣatriya*, and, by extension of the idea, of any one on whom the duties of the *kṣatriya* devolve, even if he is not a member of the second *varṇa*. The twelfth division, which details civil and criminal law, is a supplement to the eleventh. In the nicely balanced order of the Universe, any neglect of individual or collective duty, may have grave results, and to obviate them propitiatory rites of both a personal and *public* character are prescribed. Hence the proper place for their consideration is after the discussion of *Rājadharma*. The driving motive for all human effort being the aspiration for *mukti* (release), the treatment of *mokṣa* is the logical finial to the edifice of Dharmaśāstra. *Mokṣakāṇḍa* is accordingly the concluding book of Lakṣmīdhara's great digest. The order of treatment is roughly anticipated in the most authoritative of *smṛtis*, *viz. Mānava-dharmaśāstra*.

The Postulates of Dharma

The basic assumptions of Dharma include a primary and general duty, devolving on every one, to maintain the division of 'castes and orders' (*varṇāśrama*). Its fundamental tenets have universal applicability, in space and time, and in that sense are described as *sanātana* (eternal). In an important but superficial feature works on Dharmaśāstra differ from the ethical or moral codes of other peoples, ancient or modern. Not only modern legislative acts, but even such statements of moral ideals as the

[1] Cf. *Parāśarasmṛti*, I, 61—क्षत्रियो हि प्रजा रक्षन् शस्त्रपाणिः प्रदण्डवान् । निर्जित्य परसैन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥

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Christian decalogue, state what should *not* be done. Their position is negative. In the Dharmaśāstra, on the other hand, one is told what *should* be done, what any particular person should not leave undone. The difference reflects a fundamental difference in outlook. In the Indian view (Brahmanical, Jaina or Buddhist) man is an animated bundle of duties. When every one does his or her duty, universal harmony results. Neglect of one's duty recoils not merely on the delinquent but upsets the whole established order. The magnitude of the evil which might follow individual default and afflict society calls for a corresponding strength in the regulating authority, which will reduce the lapses from duty in number and gravity. The weight of the authority of the whole community should be behind the maintenance of Dharma. The head of the community (*i.e.*, the ruler) or its spiritual and intellectual leaders should exercise this power. In organized society, the ruler alone can apply in all such cases the requisite social pressure. The upkeep of Dharma in all its protean forms becomes therefore the first duty of the state and its head. *All* Dharma is *Rājadharma*. The reach of the state's duty extends to every form of activity.

THE WIDE RANGE OF RĀJADHARMA

In recent times the wider conception of *Rājadharma* has become obscured but the implications of the term in its larger and narrower sense have always been understood by Indian writers. In the *Mahābhārata*, Dharma and *Rājadharma* are used indifferently to signify the corpus of Dharma. In requesting Bhīṣma to explain *Rājadharma* to him, Yudhiṣṭhira, to show its value declares how all sentient beings depend on *Rājadharma* [1] and the four ends of life (*catur-varga*) are elucidated by it. This is made still more explicit in a further declaration that the safe-guarding of the duties of the four *varṇas* (cāturvarṇyasya dharmasya rakṣā) is the king's dharma (*rājñām dharmaḥ*). The comprehensive character of *Rājadharma* is emphasized in Bhīṣma's declaration, at the end of a panegyrical passage, that

[1] सर्वस्य जीवलोकस्य राजधर्मः परायणम् ।

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"all Dharma has entered into *Rājadharma*."[1] The first work on the science, the thousand-chapter treatise of Svayambhū (Brahma) is stated to have dealt with the customs of nations, castes and clans[2] as was required in a work of such universal applicability. The idea is also implicit in the rules for the education of princes, which makes it obligatory for the future king to possess a competent knowledge of all Dharma,[3] and in the composition by royal command of digests of the over-grown Dharma literature for their use.

So vast a range places the " Dharma of kings " beyond the capability of most rulers. A king is under Dharma in two capacities, *i.e.*, as a person, of a definite *varṇa*, subject to the Dharma of that *varṇa*, and secondly as a crowned ruler. In the second capacity, as a public functionary, he has duties which he is expected to discharge directly and those which he discharges indirectly through skilled helpers. He cannot shed his *personal* obligations, and cannot prudently delegate some of his more important regal duties. The definition and elucidation of these is necessary for successful kingship or administration. The parallel development of *Arthas'āstra* resulted in an elaboration of the duties more directly concerned with government of states. The sciences of Dharma and Artha deal with the modes of attainment of these two ends of life (*puruṣārtha*). The other two ends are the satisfaction of the emotions, especially those resulting in pleasure of the senses (*kāma*) and *mokṣa* or liberation of the spirit. The last is the ultimate and highest end, to which the others only lead. *Kāma* and *Artha* are proximate ends, and in their relative importance the ultimate aims are the most important. The *Mahābhārata*[4] declares the accepted Indian view that of the three *puruṣārthas*, *Dharma* is the best, *Artha* is next best and *Kāma* is the lowest, and that both *Artha* and *Kāma*

[1] सर्वे धर्माः राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः (शान्तिपर्व, ६२, ३०)

[2] देशजातिकुलानाश्च धर्माः समनुवर्णिताः (अ. ५८, ७४).

[3] धर्माधर्मान् विजानन् हि शासतेऽभिरतः सताम् । प्रजां रक्षेन्नृपस्साधुः ह्यन्याश्च परिपन्थिनः ॥

[4] शान्तिपर्व, अ. १६७, ८, यथा—धर्मो राजन् गुरुश्श्रेष्ठो मध्यगो ह्यर्थ उच्यते । कामो यवीयानिति च प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥

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spring from *Dharma*.[1] This view is endorsed by both Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana, who however declare that *Artha* is the chief end of the king. The complexity of human nature makes it impossible to convert it to pure asceticism and to a contempt for economic and emotional satisfactions. Accordingly, there is unanimity in laying down that each end (except *Mokṣa*) should be striven for, if it does not conflict with those preceding. A comfortless life is not for man. The subordination of lower aims to the higher is part of the discipline of life, which will lead to the ultimate goal.[2] *Arthas'āstra* recognized the paramountcy of Dharma, and regarded it as a common denominator of all action, while for human expediency, it stresses the greater importance of *Artha*. The ultimate sanctions of *Dharma* and *Artha* are to be found in a common source, *viz. S'ruti*, *i.e.* the Veda. The end of society is the same for both. "The king should permit no neglect by living beings of their appropriate duty (*svadharma*). By standing fast in one's duty, happiness is possible in life as in death. Society (*lokaḥ*) prospers and does not decay, when it maintains the bounds of conduct of Āryas (*vyavasthitārya-maryādaḥ*), stabilizes the order of castes and stages of life (*kṛtavarṇās'rama-sthitiḥ*) and seeks refuge in the Vedas (*traiyā hi rakṣitaḥ*)."[3] For the normal upkeep of organized political order it is sufficient to take a lower standard than for the determination of what is *Dharma* and what is *A-dharma*. But, when there is a conflict between Dharmas'āstra and the science of affairs (*vyāvahārikam s'āstram*), admits Kauṭilya (III, 1), the rule of *Artha* has to be construed in

[1] स्वर्गारोहणपर्व, अ. ५, ६२, यथा—ऊर्द्ध्वबाहुर्विरोम्येष न च कश्चित् शृणोति मे। धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥

[2] कामसूत्रे (२, १४—१६) यथा—"तेषां समवाये पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान्। अर्थश्च राज्ञः। तन्मूलकत्वाल्लोकयात्रायाः" ॥ अर्थशास्त्रे, (१, ७) यथा—"धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत न निस्सुखस्स्यात्। समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योन्यानुबन्धम्। एको हि अत्यासेवितो धर्मार्थकामानां आत्मानमितरौ च पीडयति। अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः। अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मार्थकामौ इति" ॥

[3] तस्मात्स्वधर्मं भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत्। स्वधर्मं सन्दधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥ व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः। त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥ (१, ३.)

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consonance with those of Dharma.[1] Dharmas'āstra deals with action that is enjoined, and therefore beyond argument. Arthas'āstra deals with action that is manifestly feasible and advantageous. In *smṛtis* an Artha content is to be found, while the normal material of Arthas'āstra is Dharma. It is on this account that a wellknown text of Yājñvalkya[2] (II, 21) lays down the superiority of an injunction of Dharma to one relating to worldly affairs (*Artha*). It is rightly interpreted by Vijñānes'vara[3] as referring *not* to the inferiority of the science of Arthas'āstra generally but to *Artha* rules contained in *smṛtis*. He illustrates the point thus. A manifest assassin (*ātatāyin*) may be killed whatever be his status, age or spiritual relationship (*Manusmṛti*, viii, 350-351). But, by another rule, there is no expiation possible for killing a Brāhmaṇa (*Ib.*, xi, 89). The second rule is absolute; therefore, the first merely aims at showing the enormity of assassination. The first rule is therefore an Arthas'āstra rule, and is superseded by the second, which is an injunction of Dharma.

A common aim, *viz.*, the upkeep of the order of *varṇa* and *ās'rama*, which can be brought about only by the existence of a supreme human authority supervising conduct and enforcing conformity by penalties, unites both the Dharmas'āstra and the Arthas'āstra in regarding political union and the state, as well as the power of punishment (*Daṇḍa*), as of divine creation. Both laud the king (*i.e.*, the state) and magnify the sovereign. The state, *i.e.* the king, was brought into existence to end

[1] संस्थया धर्मशास्त्रेण शास्त्रं वा व्यावहारिकम् । यस्मिन्नर्थे विरुध्येत धर्मेणार्थं विनिश्चयेत् ॥ (पृ. १५०.)

[2] स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः । अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥ २, २१.)

[3] धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेणेत्यनेनैव औशनसादि अर्थशास्त्रनिरस्तत्वात् धर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गतमेव राजनीतिलक्षणमर्थशास्त्रमिह विवक्षितम् । . . . . किमत्रोदाहरणम् । न तावत्—"गुरुं वा बालवृद्धौ वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् । आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ॥ नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन । प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥ (मनु, ८ । ३ । ५०, ५१.) ॥ तथा—'आततायिनमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे । जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयान्न तेन ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥' इत्यादि अर्थशास्त्रम् ॥ 'इयं विशुद्धिरुदिता प्रमाप्या कामतो द्विजम् । कामतो ब्राह्मणवधे निष्कृति र्न विधीयते (मनु, ११, ५९) इत्यादि धर्मशास्त्रम् ॥ तयो र्विरोधे धर्मशास्त्रं बलवदिति युक्तम् ॥

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anarchy and to restore and maintain Dharma. *All* Dharma is within the ambit of the king's responsibility. As the duty can be discharged only by the display or by the use of the coercive power of the state, *all* Dharma becomes subject to the king's jurisdiction. The former defines the attitude of Dharmaśāstra, and the latter that of Arthaśāstra. The only difference lies in the elaboration which rules of duty (Dharma) underwent in Arthaśāstra, which had to concern itself as much with what was enjoined as with what was feasible and advantageous to the community. The treatment of administrative matters was therefore fuller in works on Arthaśāstra or *Rājanīti* than in Dharmaśāstra digests or *smṛtis*.

Many topics of *Rājanīti* do not appear in the sections on Rājadharma in *dharma-nibandhas*, because they are dealt with in other sections of the digests. Another reason for the comparatively smaller bulk of works on Rājadharma is that by convention writers on *Nītiśāstra* or Arthaśāstra are not cited in digests of Dharma. The cause is not due to any idea of the unauthoritative nature of Arthaśāstra. Such an apprehension is cleared up by the addition of four subjects *viz.*, Āyurveda, Gāndharva-veda, Dhanurveda and Arthaśāstra to the fourteen sources of learning or Dharma (*vidyāsthāna*) enumerated by Yājñavalkya (I, 3).[1] This is done by the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, from which the ślokas are cited by Lakṣmīdhara in the *paribhāṣā* section of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*.[2] Aparārka has argued that while the fourteen mentioned by Yājñavalkya are described as sources of learning as well as Dharma, the four added to the fourteen are described only as *vidyāḥ*, and that therefore the four are *not* as authoritative as sources of Dharma as the remaining fourteen.[3] Lakṣmīdhara, whose view is endorsed in almost the same words by Mitramiśra in *Paribhāṣā-prakāśa*,

[1] पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ (याज्ञ. १, ३.) ॥

[2] अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः । धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥ आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गान्धर्वश्चेति ते त्रयः । अर्थशास्त्रं चतुर्थं च विद्या ह्यष्टादश स्मृताः ॥ इति विष्णुपुराणे (३, ६. २८, २९.) ।

[3] तत्केवलं विद्यास्थानत्वाभिप्रायं, न धर्मस्थानत्वाभिप्रायम् । आयुर्वेदादीनां च धर्मस्थानत्वाभावात् । चतुर्दशग्रहणात् ऋते अथर्ववेदसङ्ग्रहो न स्यात् । इति अपरार्कः (६. ६) ।

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states on the other hand that the fourteen pertain to Dharma (whose effects are invisible, *adṛṣṭārtha*) while the additional four, like Arthas'āstra deal with visible wordly matters (*dṛṣṭārtha*), and they are also sources of Dharma.[1] But throughout his great *nibandha* there is not a single citation from any work of *Arthas'āstra*. The reason should be sought not in any low estimate of the authoritative character of Arthas'āstra but in the circumstance that the authors of books on Arthas'āstra, unlike the authors of smṛtis, are not sages or semi-divine beings but ordinary men, eminent as scholars or statesmen. The distinction is not kept in mind by later writers like Mitramis'ra and Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, who freely quote the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka.[2] It is noteworthy that citations from Kauṭilya (wrongly printed as *Kauṇḍinya*) are to be found in Jīmūtavāhana's *Vyavahāramātṛkā*.[3] Lakṣmīdhara is more consistent in his principle and practice. The inclusion of Arthas'āstra under Upa-veda which he sanctions in *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, would also stand in the way of his rejecting its authority, especially in a digest of Rājadharma.

LAKṢMĪDHARA'S CLAIMS

Judged by bulk, the *Rājadharma-kāṇḍa* of *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* is one of its smaller divisions. To a modern student of ancient Indian polity, it will also appear somewhat barren and theoretical, when compared with, for example, the *Kauṭilīya*. In the *maṅgaḷas'loka*[4] Lakṣmīdhara claims to be animated by the

[1] "चतुर्दशधर्मप्रमितिं प्रतिप्रधानानि । चतस्रः पुनर्दृष्टप्रधानाः काचिदलौकिकमर्थं प्रमाणयन्त्यो धर्मेऽपि प्रमाणम्" इति लक्ष्मीधरः । मित्रमिश्रोऽपि इत्थं व्याख्यायति—'इति अष्टादशविधाः उक्ताः । तत्र चतुर्दशधर्मप्रधानाः, चतस्रः पुनर्दृष्टार्थप्रधानाः । धर्ममपि अनुषङ्गेण प्रमिमते इति न धर्मस्य च चतुर्दशेत्यनेन विरोधः ।" (वी. मि. परिभा., पृ. ११.)

सैव स्वकृतयाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीकायाम् (पृ. १५.)—"तथापि इह वेदशब्देनोपवेदनिरूपणं आयुर्वेदादीनां ग्रहणात् न न्यूनता इति बोद्धव्यम् ।"

[2] Mitramis'ra quotes Kāmandaka only once (p. 30) in *Nitiprakās'a*, but Nilakaṇṭha quotes him fifty-nine times in *Nītimayūkha*.

[3] Of the six quotations from 'Kaundinya' (pp. 288 and 340-1) one is a quotation from the *Kauṭilīya*, while the others are paraphrases of passages in the *Arthas'āstra*. I pointed this out first in my *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 136.

[4] न्याय्ये वर्त्मनि यज्जगद्गुणवतां गेहेषु यद्दन्तिनो राज्ञां मूर्द्धनि यत्पदं व्यरचयद्गोविन्दचन्द्रो नृपः । तत्सर्वं खलु यस्य मन्त्रमहिमाश्चर्यं स लक्ष्मीधरः काण्डं शंसति राजधर्मनिचयानेकादशे पुण्यधीः ।

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spirit of piety (*puṇyadhīḥ*), as one who essays to expound Dharmas'āstra should be, to have assuredly (*Khalu*) been responsible for ensuring the supremacy of Govindacandra over many kings by his advice and spells (*mantra*), and to have by his counsel made the king tread the path of justice and liberality to the good men of the world. The use of *mantra* in its double sense is significant. As chief minister it was his duty to guide the king by timely and wholesome advice. As chief priest he ensured victories by the use of appropriate spells or prayers. The importance attached by him to the superhuman factor in ensuring worldly success, particularly in a king, will be evident in the inclusion in this section of the digest of instructions for the correct performance of many rites in festivals and worship of certain divinities, for the welfare of the State. They are scattered throughout the book and also take up the last seven chapters of the section, which is divided into twenty-one sections in all.[1] Unless Govindacandra, as well as his contemporaries, acquiesced in the services thus claimed, as rendered to his king and country by Lakṣmīdhara, it is inconceivable that he would have been allowed to state them so openly in a work written under a royal mandate.

The assignment of a section of a *dharma-nibandha* to the exposition of the *guṇa-dharma* of the crowned *kṣatriya* (*mūrdhābhiṣikta*) is dictated by the importance of the subject. In one respect Lakṣmīdhara stands above later writers on the subject. His king was a powerful independent ruler, whose authority extended over a considerable area of Hindusthan. The life of Govindacandra was eventful, and he was largely the architect of the Gāhadwāla empire. Lakṣmīdhara himself was no mere arm-chair political theorist. He was a tried and successful statesman and administrator, who guided the foreign policy of an adventurous and ambitious ruler in eventful times. The fact that his father had held the same offices, and circumstances pointing to his association with Govindacandra during the years in which, as crown prince, he virtually held the reins of the kingdom, would point to Lakṣmīdhara's being a grandee of

[1] Lakṣmidhara does not specify the number of chapters. In this edition the book is divided into 21 sections. The Lahore edition by dividing chapter XIV into two, makes the chapters twenty-two.

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the chief court in North India in his day. He belongs thus to the class of writers, whose works derive additional weight from their being distinguished statesmen, empire builders and administrators. Hemādri and Todarmal had administrative experience comparable with his, but had perhaps not the same guiding influence on the foreign policy of their kings. Kauṭilya is a more eminent figure of the class, while Mādhavācārya might well be placed after Lakṣmīdhara in the category.

Features of the Work

The great expectations raised by these features may not be met by a study of this book. But, it should not be ascribed either to capacity and experience of the author not being up to the level of his position and record, or to the sterility of Rājadharma as such. The chief function of the author of a digest is to select his citations wisely and string them up with brief explanatory notes. Many topics and dicta, which a statesman might well be expected to deal with in a work on polity, will be excluded in an exposition confined to the positive injunctions laid down in *smṛtis* for the regulation of the life and activity of an orthodox king. The hypotheses of Dharma necessitate a static, as contrasted with a dynamic, treatment. Matters which will be stated openly in a modern work on polity, will have to be gathered in a *dharma-nibhandha* by inference from scattered dicta. Works on kingcraft, which are realistic, tend to become secret possessions of rulers and ministers. As the mark of Dharma is its mandatory character, the principles of Rājadharma gain a constitutional significance, from their imposition on rulers and their accessibility to every man. Behind bald statements and injunctions lie hidden propositions of constitutional importance. Without comments which bring out their full implications it will be difficult to search a proper appreciation of a work like the *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*.

Literature of Rājadharma

The discrimination between *Rājadharma* and *Nītiśāstra*, which is seen in Lakṣmīdhara's work, appears to have been

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forgotten by later writers on Rājadharma, as part the *dharma-nibandhas* which they composed. Caṇḍes'vara (*c.* A. D. 1300), who counts Lakṣmīdhara as one of his models and who borrows wholesale from *Kṛtya-Kalpataru*, names the supplement which he composed to the seven *ratnākaras*, *Rājanīti-ratnākara*. It was apparently not in his original scheme, and the composition of the supplement was undertaken by command of king Bhaves'a, who is identified with Bhavasimha of the Kāmes'vara dynasty of Tirhut, who became king in succession to his brother Kāmes'vara about 1370. The dynasty was set up by the sultan of Delhi. Its first ruler was the *rāja-guru* or spiritual preceptor of the former kings of Mithila. As Caṇḍes'vara claims to have performed a *tulāpuruṣadāna*, after a successful expedition into Nepal in A. D. 1314, he must have been about 85 years old when he composed his treatise. Coming of a family of prime ministers and having also held the office of chief justice, Caṇḍes'vara had qualifications for composing a digest, comparable in every way to Lakṣmīdhara's. He states in the introductory verses that Bhaves'a commanded him to prepare a digest of *rājanītī* (*rājanīti-nibandhaka*). According to Kāmandaka, *Nītis'āstra* is 'the nectar churned out of the ocean of Arthas'āstra.'[1] That Caṇḍes'vara regarded the *Rājanītiratnākara* as a supplement to his seven-volume digest of Dharmas'āstra (each of which bore a title ending with the word *Ratnākara*, *i.e.*, ocean) is evident from the title he gave to the work of his old age. The titles of other works composed after he had completed the seven-volume digest do not bear this *mudrā*: they are named *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi*, *Dānavakyāvali* and *S'ivavākyāvali*. Though he draws freely on works on Nītis'āstra like Kāmandaka's *Nītis'āra*, the distinction between this class of literature and a *Dharmas'āstra-nibandha* was apparently not known to him. For, he cites Lakṣmīdhara's work as *Nīti-kalpataru* (p. 8). He cites a passage from the work of Kāmandaka (p. 55) as *Arthas'āstra*. This looseness of expression and citation of both Dharma and Nīti works in a *Dharma-nibandha* is equally evident in the works of Mitramis'ra and Nīlakanṭha. The work of the former is named *Rājanītiprakās'a* and of the latter *Rājanīti* or *Nītimayūkha*. Both cite the *Kāmandakīya*.

[1] See his description of Kauṭilya (I, 6).
नीतिशास्त्रामृतं श्रीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः । य उद्दध्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥

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Anantadeva gives the title *Rājadharmakaustubha* to his work, and does not quote any work on *Nītis'āstra*, but this is perhaps accidental, for he refers to the corresponding section of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* as the *Nītikāṇḍa* of the *Kalpataru* (p. 326). The nice distinction between the two categories seems to have become obscure even by the fourteenth century. The lost work of Lakṣmīdhara's friend and contemporary (*vayasya*) Gopāla had apparently a section on Rājadharma but it is cited in Caṇḍes'vara's work as *Rājanīti-Kāmadhenu* (p. 2, p. 4) just as Laksmidhara's work is referred to in the same book as *Nīti-Kalpatru*. Caṇḍes'vara obviously paraphrased both titles.

Kṛtya-Kalpataru is virtually the only digest composed for a powerful and independent Hindu king. When Indian independence was lost, and non-Hindu supremacies were established over areas formerly under independent Hindu rulers, the composition of summaries of Dharma dealing with Rājadharma would seem purposeless. The failure to include sections on Rājadharma in later digests or the perfunctory composition of such sections, when composed merely to round off a digest, may be explained in this way. But foreign conquest did not fail to leave its mark on some doctrines of Rājadharma in the works composed in the period of Musulman supremacy. Caṇḍes'vara for instance, as the minister of a ruler who was a tributary of the Musulman sultan of Delhi, and who was also not a *kṣatriya*, recognized the incongruity of *his* giving the old Dharma rules making *abhiṣeka* obligatory for a king and restricting sovereignty to members of the second *varṇa*. The sacrament of coronation, which the *Kāmadhenu*, along with Lakṣmīdhara, had insisted on, to mark the commencement of sovereign power and obligations, is therefore rejected by Caṇḍes'vara, who argues that the theory of consecration fails to account for the beginning of the authority of a conqueror over territories gained by his prowess[1] (*kevalam s'auryāt-prāpta-rājyasya rājatva vyavahārāt*, p. 3). Kullūka (c. A. D. 1250) had already anticipated the point by declaring

[1] राजनीतिकामधेनौ 'राज्याभिषिक्तो राजा प्रजापालनादेस्तदीयत्वात् तत्प्राक् ज्ञानसंभवाच्च' इति; प्रजापालने प्रवृत्तः इति बहवः। वस्तुतस्तु प्रजापालनप्रवृत्त्यभिषेकादयोऽस्य कारणमात्रं प्रजास्वामित्वे राजत्वेन प्रसिद्धो राजा; 'केवलशौर्याप्तराज्यस्य राजत्वव्यवहारात्' इति गुरवः। (राजनीतिरत्नाकर, पृ. ३)।

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that the word *rājā* in *Manusmṛti*, VII, 1, was not restricted to *kṣatriyas*, and his opinion is cited by Caṇḍes'vara with approval.

In the literature of *Rājadharma*, Lakṣmīdhara's contribution to it remains the only work which strictly follows the old distinction between Dharma and *Nīti*. He for one avoids the error of commentators on the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* who elucidate passages on Rājadharma in the epics by citations from the *Kāmandakīyā Nītisāra*.

Plan of Rājadharmakāṇḍa

Lakṣmīdhara divides his book into chapters of unequal length. They fall into three well marked divisions. The Indian state is traditionally held to be composed of seven elements (*saptāṅga*) beginning with the king or ruler. To these the first twelve chapters are devoted. They form the first division. The six-fold policy (*ṣāḍ-guṇyam*) is expounded in the second division, which takes up the next two chapters. A chapter (the fourteenth) recites the duties of the king more fully than in the first division. The third division comprises the last seven chapters, which deal with ritual performances that advance the welfare of the state. The scheme is roughly followed by later writers like Mitramis'ra, who essay an even fuller treatment of Rājadharma. The traditional order of discussion is illustrated by Kāmandaka's work and the seventh book of *Manusmṛti*, as well as the *Kauṭilīya Artha-s'āstra* (especially books VI and VII).

Necessity for the State

The belief in the entire system of the Universe being divinely ordained and governed by an immutable system of castes and orders, whose equipoise is a necessity for universal harmony, is responsible, as already pointed out, for the craving for a strong power able to prevent any disturbance of the social order and to keep every one within his bounds. A stateless or, to use the more common expression, a kingless condition spells anarchy, confusion and violent dislocation of the social order. The restraint on individual volition and freedom, which the system of *varṇās'rama* implies, because it takes away the option to change

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one's caste or occupation, necessitates, as a logical corollary, the existence of both an external agency that can maintain the restraints, and arrangements which will induce willing and habitual submission to the restrictions on freedom. The inculcation of a belief in the divine creation of the order, which reduced individual freedom, and of the hopelessness and impiety of endeavouring to unsettle it, is a pre-requisite of the *voluntary* acceptance of the system. This is the task of Dharmasʼāstra. The *external* agency, which can secure the object, is political organization, providing a strong executive armed with penal power. The vivid descriptions in the epics and literature of the evils that follow anarchy, in æons in which human nature is imperfect and fallible, furnish both the justification for political union, involving the submission of the many to one executive, and the rational inducements to agree to end the anarchy in that way.[1] The ascription of a divine origin to kingship, *i.e.*, the state, makes disruptive action both a sin and a treason. Mere union is insufficient to combat the tendencies to anarchy. The authority which stands for the union must be armed with the power to punish. The power of just coercion must be placed beyond discussion. If divinely created the power gets beyond human criticism. Indian political thought can recognize a philosophical anarchism as possible only in the Golden Age. Kingship or the state is, in Indian legend, an after-thought of the Creator. A pre-political state preceded the political. The king was created by the Lord (*Prabhu*) to end the clamour following the confusion and anarchy of the kingless, *i.e.*, stateless condition of man.[2] A social compact in which the king pledges himself to maintain the divinely sanctioned social order and Dharma, and the people agree to support the executive by obedience and contributions is the consequence of the creation. The legend is found not only in the sources and in the body of Dharmasʼāstra but it is found in Arthasʼātra also. The king wields 'the rod of punishment' or Daṇḍa. Daṇḍa is really Dharma (Duty), given that form by the Creator[3] (*Dharmo hi*

[1] On the horror of anarchy *see* the extracts in *Anc. Ind. Polity*, p. 49 and pp. 82-83.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 80 and 81. For the legend of the creation of Kingship and the Social Contract, see *Manusmṛti*, VII, 3, *Mahābhārata*, Sʼāntiparva, ch. 67-68, *Kauṭilīya*, I, 13, and *Sukranīti*, I, ll. 125-140.

[3] I, 358.

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Daṇḍa-rūpeṇa Brahmaṇā nirmitaḥ purā), says Yājñavalkya: "God created for his (*i.e.*, the king's) sake in the remote past His own son, Daṇḍa, as the protector of all living beings, as an incarnation of Dharma and created of God's glory," declares Manu (VII, 14).[1] The elaborate panegyric on Daṇḍa in *Manusmṛti* (VII, 15-31) identifies the Spirit of Punishment with Dharma, and declares that Daṇḍa will destroy the king who swerves from the path of Dharma along with his kinsmen, kingdom and all his possessions. (*Ib.* VII, 28-29).[2] The twin concepts have thus a contitutional implication. The king is supreme and must be obeyed, because he holds a position that is of divine creation. At the same time, he is able to assert his authority solely because he is supported by the divinely created power of chastisement of the unrighteous. When the king is himself unrighteous and strays away from the path of duty, the power which upholds his authority will turn against him and destroy him. The king is king by right divine, but he is king only so long as he rules according to Dharma. Oppression cannot plead divine sanction. So great a power in a king entails a corresponding responsibility. Its safe and salutary exercise is possible only for a ruler who has proper counsel, and who possesses the necessary intellectual, educational and moral qualifications. A king who takes no counsel, who is a fool, who is covetous, who is a sensualist and whose mind remains unimproved is unfit to exercise the power with safety to himself.[3] (*Ib.* VII, 30). The autocrat is provided with external and internal checks to the capricious exercise of his authority by the imposition of assistants in administration and by the compulsion to educate himself. The elaborate catalogue of the good qualities that a king should possess (*rājaguṇāḥ*) in the *smṛtis*, which is condensed in a separate chapter by Lakṣmīdhara (ch. 3), is followed up by another catalogue of vices or bad habits, (*rāja-vyasana*) which kings are prone to and should avoid (pp. 142-148, *infra*), and the citation of legendary instances of kings, who by

[1] तस्यार्थे सर्वभूतानां गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् । ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमीश्वरः ॥

[2] दण्डो हि सुमहत्तेजो दुर्धरश्चाकृतात्मभिः । धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपमेव सबान्धवम् ॥
ततो दुर्गं च राष्ट्रं च लोकं च सचराचरम् । अन्तरिक्षगतांश्चैव मुनीन्देवांश्च पीडयेत् ॥

[3] सोऽसहायेन मूढेन लुब्धेनाकृतबुद्धिना । न शक्यो न्यायतो नेतुं सक्तेन विषयेषु च ॥

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disciplined lives attained greatness and fame, or were 'lost' (*vinaṣṭāḥ*) by unrestrained (*a-vinaya*) indulgence in the vices (*Ib.* p. 157). The specification of these qualifications to the apparent absolutism of the divinely created kingship both at the beginning and at the end of his treatment of the seven elements of the state (*saptāṅga*) by an official like Lakṣmīdhara is noteworthy.

Evolution of the Divine Right Idea

The concept of evolution is foreign to a political thought, which is founded on a belief in its being part of a revealed and eternal order. But, modern criticism can note the chief stages in the transformation of a kingship of purely human origin into one of divine creation. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (I, 14) shows how, as elsewhere in the world, war begat the king.[1] The leader in war becomes the king in civil life. The theory of the contractual origin of kingship, fore-shadowed in the epic, the *Manusmṛti*, the *Arthaśāstra* and Buddhist literature, reflects the birth of kingship from the need to end internal chaos. The election of the king is incomplete without the mystic ceremony of *abhiṣecana* (sprinkling) by which certain qualities necessary for kingship are instilled into the person selected as ruler, as the result of prayers to certain deities. " Savitā is prayed for energy, the family fire (*gārhapatya-agni*) for domestic virtues, Soma for power to protect forests, Bṛhaspati for eloquence, Indra for ruling capacity, Rudra for power to protect cattle-wealth, Mitra for truth, and lastly, Varuṇa for protection of law."[2] In the different duties of the king, a resemblance to the well-known functions or powers associated with divine beings is noticed. The parity of functions between the divinities and the mortal ruler is first stated, in the familiar form adopted for vivid expression, in similes. He burns (*tapati*) the eyes and hearts of —his enemies or the enemies of law—like Āditya (the Sun). He showers blessings on the kingdom, as Indra sends rains. He

[1] देवासुरा वा एषु लोकेषु समयतन्त । . . . तांस्ततोऽसुराऽजयन् . . . ते देवा अब्रुवन् न राजतया वै नो जयन्ति । राजानं करवामहा इति । तथेति ते सोमं राजानमकुर्वन । ते सोमेन राज्ञा सर्व्वादिशो जयन् । (p. 10. Haug's ed,)

[2] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 1924, ii, 23.

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does the work of the Sun (*arka-vratam caran*) when, like the Sun, he draws the moisture from the earth, in the form of taxes. As, Vāyu, the wind-god, permeates the world, so he pervades the kingdom through his spies. As Yama pulls up friends or enemies equally, when their time is up, so he has to control every one in the kingdom impartially. And so forth. Every writer sees some resemblance between the king's functions and those of gods. From this recognition of similarity, it is only a step farther to assuming that in discharging various functions the king is performing vows to the different gods to whom the functions are appropriate. The simile then turns to metaphor. The king is not merely *like* the various divinities, but he *is* the quintessence of divinity. The particles of divine essence adhere to the king. A temporary god-hood comes to the king at some of the great sacrifices, like the *Vājapeya* and the *Rājasūya*. It is only a step forward from this idea to that of a king being a divinity all the time, once the consecration is over. The god-like king has become a god. The mystic power of certain rites to transform a man, making a common person a semi-divine ruler, making a regenerate person of one who is not *upanīta*, and even making a human being a divinity, is widely credited in primitive society, and the belief persists even when the community advances in culture or becomes sophisticated.[1]

The Divine Right Idea in Dharmas'āstra

The different stages in the development of the idea of the king-god are not perceptible in Dharmas'āstra. Its writers could have been hardly conscious of it. The fallibility and the manifest vices or weaknesses of consecrated kings would open every one's eyes to the weakness of the divinity idea, when construed literally. The twin hypotheses of the divine creation of both kingship and the power of punishment, without which monarchy is ineffective and powerless, showed a way out. It is kingship, or political union, as we would put it, which is divine, not the person of the king. There is no " right divine to do wrong " in any king. Misgovernment leads to the elimination

[1] The sacrificer dies mystically and is reborn as a King; see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (A.O.S., 1942), p. 10 and A.M. Hocart, *Kingship*, 1927, ch. I, *passim*.

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of the king but not of kingship. *The king is the state* but, in only one sense: he takes the entire responsibility for all administrative acts of commission and omission. It is only through *his* negligence or lack of power that subjects can err; he must accordingly share in the guilt and the sin. He must make good stolen property which he is unable to recover and restore to the owners. The ultimate responsibility for miscarriage of justice in the courts is the king's. Even for seasonal vicissitudes and calamities of nature his is the responsibility. The awful burden cannot be shifted on by the king to any one else. He makes his age, raising or lowering its tone by his actions, (*rājā kālasya kāraṇam*).

Exaltation of the King

Position and power go with responsibility. The exaltation of the office and person of the king in the epics and in *smṛtis* meets this logical requirement. Not only Nārada, who is commonly (and wrongly) supposed to be the advocate of absolutism, but Manu (*infra*, pp. 4-7) exalts the office and person of the king in terms, which, construed literally and without reference to literary nuances and the context, would appear to be an advocacy of autocratic rule! A king, who is a boy, should not be slighted because he is a mere boy, for he is a mighty god in human form says Manu (VII, 8). "Wealth springs from his favor, victory from his prowess in war, death from his anger." His acts of favor towards those who are attached to him, and of illwill towards those whom he dislikes should not be questioned, adds Manu. But, immediately below this sweeping claim, Lakṣmīdhara cites the words of Manu (*inf.* p. 6) declaring that Daṇḍa is Dharma, whose unsleeping vigils guard subjects and punish their derelictions. The king is called *Rājā* because he pleases the subjects (*rañjayati prajāḥ*).[2] The king is like the teacher to his subjects, because he reforms offenders and frees them from sin by

[1] Cf. *Raghuvamsa*, IV, 12—

यथा प्रह्लादनाच्चन्द्रः प्रतापात्तपनो यथा ।
तथैव सोऽभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् ॥

[2] The etymology, though now scouted, is old and is found in Yāska.

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punishing them and at the same time protects them. Penal law is corrective and reformative and not retributory.

But such statements as that 'while fire scorches only the person who approaches it too close, the anger of the king destroys the person against whom it is directed along with his family and property,' (*inf.* p. 6) have a realistic touch. The sudden outbursts of a wayward and passionate ruler are not controllable by a mere reference to Dharma. It is best to avoid the king's anger. It will be poor consolation to the unlucky person, who has irritated the king, to know that Kātyāyana (*inf.* p. 155) declared that the king who, without properly understanding a matter, flies into a rage pays for it by detention for half a *kalpa* in Hell! The ruler's moods must be studied. His pleasure and displeasure are serious things to those who are about him. The long extract from *Matsyapurāṇa*, which Lakṣmīdhara has given pp. 34-38), on the deportment of royal servants (*anujīvī-vṛttam*) is half code of court etiquette, half worldly wisdom addressed to those who minister to an absolute ruler. There is real risk in telling a wholesome but unpalatable truth to a king, and the flatterer, who echoes a king's sentiments, is commoner than the loyal servant who speaks an unwanted truth (*inf.* p. 106).

For all state decisions the king takes sole responsibility. He has to consult ministers and obtain their advice, but their function is merely advisory. He is discouraged from open discussions of important questions of policy with *many* ministers or to decide them alone (*inf.* p. 104). Such a lonely position *sometimes* acts as a corrective to absolutism. The consultation with departmental experts, described in ch. 4, and with the council of ministers (ch. 12) will act as a brake on impulsive royal action. The qualifications laid down for ministers and councillors will ordinarily ensure that the advice tendered is based on knowledge, experience, loyalty to the king and faith in Dharma.

The passages in *Nāradasmṛti*, which are reproduced (pp. 4-5 *infra*) represent the exaltation of the king in an extreme form, in a way not quite in harmony with the views expressed by Nārada in other parts of the *smṛti*. The king is described as without beginning and without end (like the Supreme Being) and is therefore beyond criticism unless he deviates from the prescribed rules of conduct (*padacyutaḥ*, *i.e. bhraṣṭācāraḥ*). The qualification

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is noteworthy. "What he decrees, just or unjust, settles the law between *litigants*." (p. 5 *inf.*) The real implication is—not that an unjust decision of the king ceases to be so because it emanates from him, but—there should be finality attaching to the decision of the highest judge in the state. Recognized customs (*cāritra*) are proclaimed by the king in order that there may be some fixity in affairs (*sthityartham*). As a good wife is devoted to even a worthless husband, so the subjects should be loyal, *i.e.*, obedient, even to an unworthy ruler (p. 5). The emphasis in the passage is on the need for stability in affairs and finality in decisions such as can ensue only from an executive authority whose every act is not liable to be called into question. Such exaggerated statements are common in Dharmaśāstra, but they are made, following a literary convention, merely to emphasise a point, and can not be constructed literally.

The constitutional position of the king *vis a vis* the subject, in theory and practice, can be discovered only after a review of the entire body of arrangements for conducting the affairs of the kingdom. We shall revert to the subject later.

WHO CAN BE KING?

The *varṇāśrama* scheme does not contemplate non-Kṣatriya kingship. Manu interdicts residence in the dominions of a Śūdra king (IV, 61).[1] He prohibits a Śūdra deciding Dharma as a judge or assessor (VIII, 20-21).[2] If a *considerable* area of India was under Śūdra rule, when the present *Manusmṛti* was composed, such an interdict could not have been made. The Purāṇas declare that Kṣatriya rule ends when the Nandas ceased to rule.[3] Though the expression *rājā* in *Manusmṛti*, VII, 1, has been declared by Medhātithi not to refer exclusively to a *kṣatriya*,[4] in the very next verse the two words are used as

[1] न शूद्रराज्ये निवसेन्नाधार्मिकजनावृत्ते ।

[2] धर्मप्रवक्ता नृपते र्न तु शूद्रः कथञ्चन । यस्य शूद्रस्तु कुरुते राज्ञः धर्मविवेचनम् । तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पङ्के गौरिव पश्यतः ।

[3] नन्दान्तं क्षत्रिय कुलम् ।

[4] "राजशब्दस्तु नेह क्षत्रियजातिवचनः किं तर्हि अभिषेकादिगुणयोगिनि पुरुषं वर्तते" (VII, 1) but in explaining 'क्षत्रियेण यथा विधि' in VII, 2, Medhātithi adds—

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synonyms. The entire trend of the *smṛtis* is to insist on *kṣatriyas* alone being entitled to be kings. This view is upheld by Mitramis'ra and Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, while Caṇḍes'vara and Aparārka hold that any person, who is *de facto* king, can be called *rājā*. Mādhavācārya also maintains that only a *kṣatriya* can be consecrated as king.[1] Not only in *Manusmṛti* but in *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* the terms *rājā* and *kṣatriya* are used as synonyms. Caṇḍes'vara tacitly accepts the position by omitting to treat of *abhiṣeka*. Lakṣmīdhara does not raise the point at all, but the drift of his treatment is to confine lawful kingship to men of the *kṣatriya* caste. His king claimed to be a Rajput. The general attitude of Lakṣmīdhara is conservative. From his citing only the descriptions of coronations from the *Brahmapurāṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* no inference can be drawn against this view. The two accounts paraphrase, as Purāṇas often do, the Vedic ritual. It is Lakṣmīdhara's practice to indicate briefly the *mantras* to be used in such rites and leave the *prayoga* to the qualified priests who would officiate. In the seventeenth century the point came to the fore again in the claims of S'ivāji to be crowned and of Savāi Jaisingh of Amber to perform the *As'vamedha* sacrifice.

The injunctions of Rājadharma are held to be binding on every one who actually exercises the functions of a king, independently of his caste. The view is apparently old and conferred on kings *de facto*, who accepted the Brahmanic system the rights in regard to the performance of Vedic sacrifices, which only *kṣatriyas* were under a strict construction entitled to. When a powerful ruler set up a claim to belong to the *kṣatriya* caste, it was neither wise nor expedient to dispute it. The retention of sections on coronation in works on Rājadharma composed in the epoch of Muslim rule in India is to be explained on the ground that even tributary kings must, if duly qualified, undergo the rite, before they could strictly claim to be Rājas.

"क्षत्रियेणेति—एतेन क्षत्रिय एव राज्याधिकारीति सूचितम् । क्षत्रियाभावे तदतिदेशोऽपि ग्राह्य: । अन्यथा प्रजालोपस्स्यादिति भाव: " ।

[1] Mitramis'ra's patron Bīr Singh of Orccha claimed to be a *Kṣatriya*. In the maṅgala-s'lokas prefixed to his commentary on *Parās'ara-smṛti* Mādhava refers to his patron only as *Kṣmāpatiḥ*, while attributing to him all kingly qualities.

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THE ROYAL CORONATION

In Indian theory the right to protect the subjects and other contingent rights devolve only on a duly *crowned* ruler. In the *Matsyapurāṇa*, cited by the *Vīramitrodaya*, this is expressly stated. The kingdom vests in the ruler only after his head is wet with the water of *abhiṣeka* (*abhiṣekārdra s'irasā*),[1] and he can proceed to appoint his ministers (*Ib.* p. 13). The term *Rājā* is interpreted only in the sense of "the anointed *kṣatriya*" (*rājā abhṣikta kṣatriyaḥ*). Vijñānes'vara prefaces his treatment of *rājadharma* with the remark: "Having spoken of the ordinary duties of the householder, he (*i.e.*, Yājñavalkya) proceeds to speak of the special duties of the householder (kṣatriya) who has undergone *rājyabhiṣeka*."[2] Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha similarly holds that the legal acquisition of kingship dates only after the *abhiṣeka*.[3] In the *Atharvaṇa-paris'iṣtha*, after describing the ritual of *puṣpābhiṣeka* in coronation, it is stated that the king, who has had a lustral bath after coronation, proceeds to enjoy the earth.[4] Anantadeva states categorically that the use of the word *Rājā* in reference to a ruler is inappropriate before the coronation.[5] It is noteworthy that in the coronation ritual described in *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* the king-elect is described only by the pronoun "he" and that it is only after the ceremony of *abhiṣecana* (sprinkling) is completed that he becomes invested with the royal powers and office and is called *Rājā* (king).[6] The position is upheld by

[1] राज्ञोऽभिषिक्तमात्रस्य किं नु कृत्यतमं भवेत् ।
अत्र मात्रपदेन तं अपा च अभिषेकानन्तरमेव प्रजापाल्नं तदङ्गसंपत्तिश्च संपादनीयेति गम्यते । तदुक्तं तत्रैव—

अभिषेकार्द्रशिरसा राज्ञा राज्यावलोकिना । सहायवरणं कार्यं तत्र राज्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

[2] I, 309—साधरणान् गृहस्थधर्मानुक्त्वेदानीं राज्याभिषेकादिगुणयुक्तस्य गृहस्थस्य विशेषधर्मानाह । (मिताक्षरा) ।

[3] अभिषेकोत्तरभाविराज्ययोगात् प्रागपि राजानमभिषिञ्चेत् इत्यादेः शास्त्रीयप्रयोगस्य क्षत्रियमात्रेऽपि सद्भावादिति निरणाय्यवेष्टयधिकरणे । (नीतिमयूखः, पृ. १.)

[4] राजा स्नातो महीं भुङ्क्ते (वी. मि. पृ. ११४) ।

[5] अभिषेकात्पूर्वमपि राजशब्दो नानुपपन्नः, अवेष्टयाधिकरणन्यायेन जातिवाचकत्वात्' । (पृ. ३३८.)
It is noteworthy that As'oka counts his reign from B.C. 269, the date of his *abhiṣeka*.

[6] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, II, p. 15.

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Manusmṛti (VII, 2) which rules that the protection of the kingdom in accordance with justice should be undertaken by the *kṣatriya* who has been consecrated according to the prescribed rites by the Brāhmaṇa (*i.e.*, *rājyābhiṣeka*). A prince might be made to undergo the *abhiṣeka* in the lifetime of his predecessor, either as a *yuvarāja*, as was arranged in the case of S'rī Rāma, or as co-king. An *abhiṣeka* could be done only at an auspicious moment (*inf.* p. 9). Months might elapse before the Court Astrologer, (*sāmvatsarikaḥ*), who becomes an important functionary on this account and who officiates as such at the coronation, can find an auspicious date for the commencement of the ceremonies leading to the *abhiṣeka*. What was to happen in the interval between the death of a king and the coronation of his successor? Lakṣmidhara does not answer the question. Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha's opinion, based on the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, is that on the death of a king his successor should, without delay and without any attention to the auspiciousness of the moment, be bathed in *tila* and *sarpis*, according to ritual, be seated on a throne different from that used by the dead king, be proclaimed as king by the Court Astrologer and Chief Priest (*sāmvatsara-purohitau*) and exhibited to the people as the new king. The new reign would begin at once, but the ruler will await the arrival of the auspicious time for his consecration as king.[1] That an interval would usually occur between succession and consecration is evident from the rule of Vasiṣṭha (II, 49) declaring a *moratorium* on debts in the interval.[2] We know that an interval of about four years occurred between the succession and consecration of As'oka.[3] Kharavela of Kaliṅga states in the Hathigumpha inscription that he was installed (consecrated) as *yuvarāja*, when his period of adolescence was over in his sixteenth year, and that he was a *yuvarāja* for nine years, getting consecrated by the *Mahārāja-abhiṣecanam* at the end of his twenty-fourth year.[4] Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that the throne was vacant before his consecration as Mahārāja,

[1] अत्र यदा पूर्वराजनि मृते, अन्योऽभिषिच्यते, तदाऽसौ तिलसर्षपस्नानाद्यभयघोषान्ते कृते, अन्यासनस्थः, प्रजाः पालयन् अभिषेककालमाकांक्षेत् । (पृ. ५.)

[2] राजा तु मृतभावेन द्रव्यवृद्धिं विनाशयेत् । पुना राजाभिषेकेण द्रव्यमूलं च वर्द्धते ॥

[3] J.M. Macphail, *As'oka*, p. 19; *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 503.

[4] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, III, (1917), pp. 425-507.

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or to give the title used by the queen, as Kalinga-Cakravartin.[1] Dr. Jayaswal reads a rule into this supposed delay of the consecration as king, *viz.*, that a king could not be given his *abhiṣeka* till his twenty-fourth year.[2] The suggestion is unsupported by any rule of public law in India. Hindu Law makes no distinction as regards the age of majority between kings and private persons. It is sixteen for both. Kharavela was installed as *yuvarāja* as soon as he reached the age for majority. The public inconvenience of a long interval between accession and coronation would work against its prolongation. The long delay in the case of As'oka has yet to be satisfactorily explained. Buddhist and Jain rulers, like Brahmanical kings accept the dictates of astrology. Among the Coḷa kings the reign of one who had been installed as *yuvarāja* was dated from the date of such inauguration. The purpose of the installation was obviously to overcome the risks attending uncertainty as to who should succeed, when there was more than one grown-up prince.[3] As a regal inheritance could not be divided, the ordinary private law of succession to property could not be applied. The training of a grown-up *yuvarāja* in administration, rising from the exercise of minor authority to the highest positions in the kingdom, is recommended in the passage from the *Matsyapurāṇa*, which takes up most of the small section (*inf.* p. 100) that Lakṣmīdhara has set apart for the 'guarding of the prince.' (*rājaputra-rakṣā*).

S'IVĀJI'S CORONATION

The belief that a Hindu ruler could not be deemed to be fully entitled to recognition till he had undergone the *abhiṣeka* is illustrated by the famous 'coronation' of S'ivāji in 1674, when for many years he had been recognized as a powerful and independent ruler. As he claimed to be a *kṣatriya*, descended from the kings of Mewar, his failure to undergo *upanayana* within the age limits prescribed for the *samskāra* in the case of *kṣatriyas* had made him a *vrātya*. His purification and rehabilitation had therefore to precede his *abhiṣeka*, which was conducted, according

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 438. For the title, see *Epigraphia Indica*, XIII, p. 159.
[2] *Hindu Polity*, II, p. 52.
[3] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri,—*The Colas*, I, 1935, p. 13.

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to the rites prescribed, under the supervision of Vis'ves'vara Bhaṭṭa of Kās'ī, familiarly known as Gāgā Bhat. S'ivāji is said to have gone through the *abhiṣeka*, because many old sardārs of Mahārāṣtra professed to be his equals in rank and refused to sit below him even in his own Darbars (*Sivadigvijaya*, pp. 406-408). The *abhiṣeka* established his right to *siṁhāsana* and *chatra*, and he took the title of *Chatrapati* from the date of its performance, June 6, 1674 (Jyeṣṭa S'uddha Trayodas'ī, S'aka 1596). The coronation was followed by a *tulāpuruṣa-dāna*, and his weight in gold coins was distributed among the Brāhmaṇas who had flocked to the ceremony.[1]

The Ritual of Coronation

The word 'coronation' is used here, following the western usage, for the formal ceremony, though the 'crown' has no prominent place in the ceremonial. The act of sprinkling or *abhiṣeka* is the vital act of the ritual. After the sprinkling and a bath following it, the prince has the crown placed on his head (*ābaddha-makuṭaḥ*) and the fillet of gold tied round his forehead (*baddha-paṭṭah*). Then, with garlands placed on his neck, as a sign of the completion of the ceremony, he has to see one-hundred-and-eight holy objects (*puṇyam aṣṭot-taram s'atam*) and one hundred auspicious things (*mangaḷānām s'atam pas'yet*). The crown is not among the articles needed for the installation of S'rī Rāma as *yuvarāja*, which are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as collected and kept by the royal priest Vasiṣṭha for use on the occasion.

The rites described in Vedic *Brāhmaṇas* are designed to endow the personage selected for the office of king with the attributes and power required for kingship. A ruler may have been selected but before he can function as a proper king (*rājā*) he must undergo the ceremony, in which he is said to be 'born.' It is therefore a *rājasūya*. Among the great Vedic sacrifices two, *viz.*, the *Vājapeya* and the *Rājasūya*, were indicated for performance by *kṣatriyas*, who desired universal dominion and kingship respectively. They were not parts

[1] See *S'ivadigvijaya*, pp. 406-408 in S. N. Sen's *Sivachhatrapati*, 1920, pp. 241-242, and Kincaid and Parasniṣ—*History of the Marathas*, 1931, pp. 92-94.

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really of the ceremony of the installation of a king. But, apparently, one who was already a ruler gained in splendour, majesty and superhuman power by performing them. The ordinary ceremony of installation of the king was also a *rāja-sūya*, because the king was ceremonially 'born' of it, but the two must be distinguished. The sacrifice of *Rājasūya* took about two years to finish, and was therefore a *dīrgha-sattra*. The installation ceremony, on the other hand, lasted only some days.

The Vedic form of the ceremony had apparently gone out of use, and simpler rites, which repeated parts of the old ritual, were in use. They are described in the Purāṇas and the epics. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there are descriptions of one half-completed *abhiṣeka* and of S'rī Rāma's final coronation, as well as a reference to the *abhiṣeka* of his sandals by Bharata. The last merely mentions that Bharata, having got the sandals sprinkled (*abhiṣicya*), himself held over them the umbrella (*chatra*) and wielded the fly-whisk (*cāmara*).[1] The arrangements for the *abhiṣeka* of S'rī Rāma as his father's assistant, in the capacity of *yuvarājā*, are described in the first six chapters of the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*. The relevant parts of these descriptions have been reproduced by Lakṣmīdhara. (*inf.* pp. 12-17). In the concluding chapter of *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* there is a very brief description of S'rī Rāma's final coronation.[2] The last passage states that the hero was sprinkled with scented water, brought from the four oceans in golden pots, by the *ṛtviks* and the assembled Brāhmaṇas first, and then by virgins, ministers, and warriors, to the accompaniment of Vedic rites (*sa-naigamaiḥ*). The gods who had all assembled in the heavens at the moment and the divine guardians of the four quarters sprinkled him with the juice of every medicinal plant. Vasiṣṭha then seated S'rī Rāma on a jewelled stool (*nānāratnamaye pīṭhe*) and placed the crown of the dynasty on his head. The officiating priests (*ṛtviks*) adorned him with jewelled ornaments. S'atrughna held over the king's head the white umbrella, the two white fly-whisks (*cāmara*) were handled by Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa. The ceremony was concluded by the presentation of diverse gifts to

[1] Ayodhyākāṇḍa, ch. 115, sl. 25.
[2] Ch. 131, sl. 59-71.

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his allies by the hero. The context suggests that the entire ceremony was begun and concluded in one day.

THE PROBLEM OF SUCCESSION

The *abhiṣeka* of a *yuvarāja* was apparently by the same rites as of a king. The arrangements upto the day of *abhiṣeka* are described in the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*. The first step was to choose the person for *abhiṣeka*. The heir-apparent to be crowned as *yuvarāja* has to be selected for the possession of the qualifications, which are indicated in Das'aratha's words to S'rī Rāma, when he was called up to hear of his *abhiṣeka* as *yuvarāja* (*inf.* p. 17). S'rī Rāma's fitness for the installation is illustrated by his being the eldest son, by the seniormost queen, whose lineage was equal to that of the king, by his pre-eminent virtues, by the king's affection for him and by his pleasing qualities, which had made him universally popular. The implications of the passage are that the successor to the throne should be an *aurasa* son, be the eldest of such sons, be dear to the king and popular with the subjects, owing to his virtues. Lakṣmīdhara does not categorically state that the eldest son succeeds automatically. His citing this passage suggests that in his view mere seniority, untempered by merit and popularity, is insufficient. Manu declares that seniority among sons does not follow seniority among their respective mothers.[1] The *Kālikāpurāṇa* does not give an unqualified rule of primogeniture among princes, as supposed by Mitramis'ra, as it insists on the eldest son being an *aurasa* endowed with all kingly qualities (*sarvarājaguṇair vṛtam*). Kauṭilya[2] rules that except in order to get over a crisis, kingship is the right of the eldest son. Kāmandaka,[3] who almost invariably follows Kauṭilya, does *not* refer to the eldest son's installation as *yuvarāja* and only says that an *aurasa* son, who is well-disciplined (*vinīta*)

[1] सदृशास्त्रीषु जातानां पुत्राणामविशेषतः ।
न मातृतो ज्यैष्ठ्यमस्ति जन्मतो ज्यैष्ठ्यमुच्यते ॥ (९, १२५).

[2] कालिकापुराणे तु ज्येष्ठौरसस्य राज्यं स्पष्टमेव अभिहितम्—अथोपरिचरं राजा यौवराज्येऽभ्यषेचयेत् । ज्यायांसमौरसं पुत्रं सर्वराजगुणैर्युतम् ॥ इति राजनीतिप्रकाशे (पृ. ३६).

[3] अन्यत्रापदि ऐश्वर्यं ज्येष्ठभागी तु पूज्यते (३, १, १७).

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should be selected.[1] Caṇḍes'vara, who discusses the question, cites the views of Nārada, S'ukra and Bṛhaspati, as set forth in their books on Nītis'āstra, that the eldest son should succeed to a kingdom, even though there may be a better endowed younger son (p. 70).[2] The printed *S'ukranītisāra* gives a king, on the other hand, the option to appoint (in this order) as *yuvarāja* an *aurasa* son, a younger brother, a younger cousin, or an elder brother's son, any son, a grandson who has been made a son, (*putrīkṛta*) and an adopted son. The rule of primogeniture seems recommendatory, not mandatory. The old elective kingship of the Vedic age had given place to the hereditary monarchy of the epic period. The search for popular approval of the selection of a successor must have then been dictated by prudence rather than by law. Das'aratha was able to leave the throne, like personal property, to Bharata, in redemption of an old pledge, in the teeth of universal disapproval, and the kingdom had to be given back to the lawful heir by Bharata.[3]

Epic Ritual of Abhiṣeka

The coronation rites of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fall into five clearly marked stages. The first stage is represented by the selection of the heir-apparent for *abhiṣeka*. The popular approval of it is expressed by acclamation (*janaghoṣa*). The next stage witnesses first, the selection of auspicious time for the commencement of the ceremonies and of another for the actual, crucial

[1] विनीतमौरसं पुत्रं यौवराज्येऽभिषेचयेत् । (७, ६).

[2] राज्यमदत्त्वैव राज्ञि मृते राजपुत्राय पुरोहितमन्त्रिभिरपि राज्यं दातव्यं वैदिक-लौकिककर्मसु राजप्रातिनिध्यात् । बहुषु ज्येष्ठाय इति सम्प्रदायः । ननु राजपरोक्षे राजपुत्रस्यैव कथं तै र्दातव्यमिति चेन्न । तैरेव न ग्राह्यमधर्मश्रवणादित्यभिप्रायात् । 'अत्र विवादपरिहारार्थमिति' लक्ष्मीधरः । राज्यभङ्गभियेति पल्लवकारः । . . . राजनीतौ शुक्रः—

राज्यं पुरोविवाहं च सपिण्डीकरणं पितुः । गुणवत्सु कनिष्ठेषु ज्येष्ठ एव समर्हति ॥

इति राजनीतिरत्नाकरे, पृ. ७०

[3] शिरस्याञ्जलिमाधाय कैकेय्यानन्दवर्धनः ।
बभाषे भरतो ज्येष्ठं रामं सत्यपराक्रमम् ॥
पूजिता मामिका माता दत्तं राज्यमिदं मम ।
तद्ददामि पुनस्तुभ्यं यथात्वमददा मम ॥
(युद्धकाण्ड, १३१, १, २).

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ceremony of *abhiṣeka*, and next the collection of the necessary materials and of the men who are to officiate at the functions. The third stage sees the prince go through his own purification and preparation for the *abhiṣeka*. The fourth is the *abhiṣeka-kṛtya* with its *pūrvāṅga*, which are barely hinted at. The post-*abhiṣeka* duties take up the last stage. The description is incomplete in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as S'rī Rāma did not pass through the last two stages for the *yuvarājyābhiṣeka*. Das'aratha himself announces the auspicious time for the event.[1] The preliminary arrangements include the decoration of the palaces and the capital, the assembling of festive crowds, the collection of gold, precious stones and jewels, white garlands, fried rice, *madhu* and *sarpis*, all usual weapons, untorn raiment (*ahatāni-vastrāṇi*), a white charger, an elephant with auspicious marks, a chariot, a pair of fly-whisks (*cāmara*) a flag, a white umbrella, one hundred golden pots, a bull with horns tipped with gold, a complete tiger-skin and the various articles required for *homa*. In addition, there were procured for the occasion water from the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayāg and from other holy streams, a palanquin borne on the shoulders of men, 'all seeds' and scents, pots full of *gorocanā*, curds, clarified butter and honey, eight virgins decked in ornaments, haeterae, a cow, a lion-throne (*simhāsana*), *kus'a* grass and *samit* for the sacred fire, all musical instruments and performers, holy birds and animals of auspicious appearance, citizens in their guilds, and learned Brāhmaṇas. S'rī Rāma passes the third stage in propitiation of the sacred fire, worship of Viṣṇu, consuming the remnants of the fire-offering and observing a fast, lying on *kus'a* spread on the ground, in company with his consort. The articles collected include regalia and "auspicious" objects.

THE PURĀṆIC RITUAL

Two excerpts, a shorter one from the *Brahmapurāṇa* and a longer one from *Viṣnudharmottara*, are given by Mitramis'ra,

[1] चैत्रः श्रीमानयं मासः पुण्यः पुष्पितकाननः ।
यौवराज्याय रामस्य सर्वमेवोपकल्प्यताम् ॥
(अयोध्याकाण्ड, ३, ४).

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Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha and Anantadeva, while the first alone is given by Lakṣmīdhara. The Purāṇic ritual is an elaboration of that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. After the proper dates for the beginning of the ceremonies and for the *abhiṣeka* proper are settled in the consultation with the astrologer (*Sāmvatsarika*) of the court, a chief priest is chosen to direct the rites. He was not to be the chief priest of any other ruler.[1] Then a preceptor (*guru*) was to be invited for the occasion. The persons who should officiate as well as the various articles needed and collected had to be inspected by the prince. The queen should be sprinkled along with the king, if the latter is already married at the time of the installation. If he marries later, the chief queen has a subsequent *abhiṣeka*.[2] A chief minister (*mantrin*) should be chosen to officiate on the occasion. As seven or eight ministers are indicated for daily consultation, the appointment of this full number of ministers is also deemed necessary. It was done by S'ivāji, when he appointed the *aṣṭapradān* before his coronation and made them officiate at it.

The ceremonies begin with various preliminary and propitiatory rites, like *Vināyakas'ānti* to overcome obstacles, *Grahas'ānti* and *Nakṣatras'ānti* (propitiation of the planetary and stellar deities), *Abhyudaya-s'rāddha* (to propitiate *pitaraḥ*) and *Aindrī-s'ānti*, to overcome internal and external enemies. These should ordinarily take seven days, during which the prince should fast and also observe continence. Before the *Aindrī-s'ānti* is done the worship of Viṣṇu (*Nārāyaṇa-pūjā*), the worship of the Divine Mothers (*Mātṛkā-pūjā*) and *Vasordhārā* (the ritual for which is given by Lakṣmīdhara in the concluding chapter of the book) as well as *svastivācakam* and *anumati* (or sanction by the assembled Brāhmaṇas) must be finished.

On the day of the *abhiṣeka* the priest should decorate himself with a turban and ear rings, begin the ceremonies and proceed to propitiate the sacred fire with offerings to the accompaniment of thirteen specified hymns (*inf.* p. 10).

The prince, who has already had a bath, should again be bathed 'like a god' (*deva-vat*) with *pañcagavya* and with water,

[1] 'अत्र पुरोहितग्रहणमन्यराजपुरोहितो न ग्राह्यः'। (राजधर्मकौस्तुभे, पृ, २४२).

[2] राज्ञा सह अग्रमहिषी अभिषेक्तव्या अथवा अभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा पश्चात् स्वयमभिषेक्तव्या ॥ (रा. कौ. २४८).

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milk, curds, and nectar (*amṛta*), in pots of earth, copper, silver and gold, by a S'ūdra, standing to the west of the prince, by a Vais'ya standing to the south, by a Kṣatriya standing to the east, and by a Brāhmaṇa standing to the north. Earth collected from twelve different localities (a hill, an ant-hill, the temple of Indra, the king's palace, a temple, anywhere but lifted by an elephant with its tusk and by an ox with its horn, the house of a prostitute, the confluence of a stream, a horse stable, a cow-shed and a river bed) should be used to rub him on various parts of his body. The prince should then be conducted by the priest to his couch (*bhadrāsana*), made of a tree yielding a milk-white sap, and seated on it. He should then have water sprinkled on him by members of the four castes, by chaste women and by women with living children. This finishes the *abhiṣeka*. When water is poured on him, it should be through a golden sieve having a hundred-and-eight holes, and the prince should stand all the time on a plate similarly bored. The crown (*mukuṭa*) should then be placed on his head, a fillet of gold, in the shape of a headcovering, should be tied to his forehead, and he should be garlanded and decorated. When this was done, he should gaze on 100 auspicious objects, and 108 holy articles. After finishing any other Vedic rites that remain, and fed the sacred fire, he should bestow on the fire the *purṇāhuti*. He should next worship Gaṇes'a again as well as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and S'iva. In their honor and for the satisfaction of the planets, the gods and the manes, he should bestow gifts. He should convey an assurance of freedom from fear (*abhaya*) to all living beings. He should release cows. He should then be seated by the Chief Priest on a lion-throne covered with a tiger skin. Having worshipped his weapons and regalia, he should give *dars'ana* to his subjects. After this is done, he should mount an elephant, make a circuit of the capital, return to the palace, feed the guests and royal servants, when taking his own food. Next, having rinsed his mouth (*ācamya*), partaken of betel, he should enter the inner apartments and refresh himself again. So ends the coronation.

The details given above are added to by the *Viṣnudharmottara*. The additions to the ritual described by Lakṣmīdhara may now be noted. After the sprinkling, the ministers should

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serve the king by holding over his head the royal umbrella, waving the fly whisks, etc. Music and Vedic chanting should go on all the time. An acclamation should follow the *abhiṣeka*. The king should look at his own reflection in a mirror and in a vessel of melted butter. The chief priest should present *madhuparka*, the highest complimentary offering, to the anointed king. He should walk round the sacred fire thrice, bow and arrows in hand. An amnesty should be proclaimed to convicted offenders, poor feeding should take place on a lavish scale, the *S'rīsūkta* from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* be recited, and a leveè of the chief dignitaries and citizens be held. Before mounting the elephant and going round the city, he should mount for a moment the state charger. In the procession through the city, gods in temples on the route should be worshipped, and largesses be scattered all the way. On the day of the coronation, the king should again sleep on the bare ground and observe continence.

The Purāṇas recommend the repetition of the *abhiṣeka* on every anniversary of the coronation.

The detailed account contained in the biography of S'ivāji by Malhar Rāmrāo Chitnis (paras 259-274), which has been printed at Poona, shows that the *full* ritual was followed scrupulously at his coronation. Gāgā Bhaṭ was the *ṛtvik*. The eight *pradhāns*, among whom there were representatives of the four castes, did the sprinkling. *Ārti* was offered by married women. By the completion of the ceremonial after the full number of days. S'ivāji became a *mūrdhābiṣikta kṣatriya*, and began to date his further regal acts from the date of the coronation.

The simplified ritual given by Lakṣmīdhara was likely to have been thus added to by the experts who officiated at such ceremonies from time to time. He omits completely the Vedic ritual given in the different Brāhmaṇas, obviously because Purāṇic sanction is sufficient in Dharmas'āstra and some of the Vedic ritual was more relevant to the *Rājasūya* sacrifice than to an ordinary coronation.

The Vedic Coronation

Mitramis'ra gives the Vedic (*S'rauta*) ritual from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* with explanatory comments, *after* exhausting

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the Purāṇic descriptions, which also prescribe the use of certain specified Vedic *mantras* during the ceremony. That the significance of the ancient rite was then forgotten is evident from the incorrect explanations given by him as well as other commentators. The latter explain the term *rājā-kartāraḥ* (king-makers), the *ratnins* (twelve in number, including the *rājanya*), who officiated at the Vedic coronation and took part in the *abhiṣecana*, as 'ministers' (*mantriṇaḥ*), while Mitramis'ra (p. 97) interprets it as "agnatic relations" (*pitṛvya-bhrātrā-dayaḥ*)[1]! They naturally miss also the constitutional import of the institution, though in the *Rāmāyāṇa* it is signified by their assembling, along with the leading Brāhmaṇas, sages, and ministers, to consider the interregnum which had occurred on the death of Das'aratha.[2] The participation of representatives of the four *varṇas* and the ministers in the epic ritual is a survival, whose origin and nature must have been also forgotten in later times. In the *abhiṣecana* described in *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the king steps on a tiger skin spread in front of the sacred fire, and he is then sprinkled by a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, and a Vaiṣya as well as by a *Janya* (a member of a hostile tribe), whose place is later on taken by the S'ūdra (*Sat. Br.*, V, 3, 5, 11-14). The king who has meanwhile been given his mantle, diadem and underwear, is then announced to 'all men' (*āvit mārtyāḥ*) as well as to certain immortal gods *viz.* Agni, Indra, Mitrā-Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Vis'vedevāḥ, Heaven and Earth (*Dyāvā-pṛthvī*) and Aditi.[3] The king next takes a vow, or oath in modern parlance, in the following terms: "Between the night in which I am born and the night I die, may I be deprived of

[1] See the comments on the term in *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 79, 1.

[2] व्यतीतायां तु शर्वर्यामादित्यस्योदये ततः । समेत्य राज्यकर्तारः सभामीयु र्द्विजातयः ॥ (अयो. का. ७०, २).

[3] वाजसनेयसंहितयाम् (१०–९)यथा—

आविर्मर्य्या आवित्तो अग्निगृहपतिरावित्त इन्द्रो
वृद्धश्रवा आवित्तौ मित्रावरुणौ धृतव्रतावित्तः ।
पूषा विश्ववेदा आवित्तो द्यावापृथिवी
विश्वशम्भुवा वावित्तादितिरुरुशर्मा ॥

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whatever good I may have done (in the period), of my heaven, of my life and of my progeny, if I wrong (*yadi te druhyeyam*) you."[1] The taking of the oath makes the king *dhṛta-vrata*. This is done before he takes his seat on the throne, after investiture.

The Pledge of Pṛthu

Pṛthu, the miraculously created son of the oppressor Vena, is asked by the sages to take a similar oath (*pratijñāms'ca adhirohasva*), in a legend recounted in the *Mahābhārata* (S'ānti., lviii, 115-117): 'I will protect the earth. I will carry out without hesitation (*as'aṅkaḥ*) the Dharma contained in *Daṇḍanīti*. I will not be capricious (*svavas'aḥ*).' He replied " Let it be so." Dr. K. P. Jayaswal terms this a coronation oath of the epic age. It is more of the nature of a contract, like the one entered by Manu and the people when kingship was first created. The *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V, 3, 5, 4) states that Pṛthu the son of Vena was the first appointed king of the earth. The epic legend is related to the *Brāhmaṇa* legend. The implication of the story is that the pledge to secure good government is as old as the state.

Purāṇic Ritual

The Purāṇic descriptions give only the outline of the ceremonial to be observed and the *mantras*, which can not be missed on the occasion. Doubtless the ritual of the *Brāhmaṇas* was imported in historical times into the ceremonies conducted by expert priests. The tendency was to add, not to reduce, the elements. This is shown by the elaborate way in which the *Viṣṇodharmottara* prescribes that the benedictions of a multitude of miscellaneous divinities, sages, and objects credited with life and power, as well as heroes join in "sprinkling" the king (*ete tvām abhiṣiñcantu*). The seven worlds are invoked to give the anointed king victory (p. 76). The seven *dvīpas* are to

[1] ऐतरेयब्राह्मणे (८, ४, १५) यथा—[एतेनैन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण क्षत्रियं शापयित्वा अभिषिञ्चेत्। स ब्रूयात् सह श्रद्धया] "याञ्च रात्रीमजायेहम् याञ्च प्रेतास्मि तदुभयमन्तरेणेष्टा-पूर्त्तं मे लोकं सुकृतमायुः प्रजां वृञ्जीथा यदि ते द्रुह्योयम्" इति। It is addressed by the King to the Priest, and should be deemed more a pledge to uphold Dharma than an oath to the people, as understood by Dr. Jayaswal.

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reflect his sovereignty. All sacred literature and all learning are to show him the way to victory (*vijayam pratidis'antu*). *All* sacred waters then known are invited by name to bathe him (*abhiṣiñcantu*).

Has It a Constitutional Significance ?

It has sometimes been suggested that the Vedic ritual was deliberately omitted in mediæval *nibandhas* from a wish to leave monarchy absolute and unfettered by any restrictions. This is not correct. All *nibandhas* place the king under, not above, Dharma. His obligation to abide by Dharma is emphasized over and over again. The moment the king becomes *abhiṣikta*, he comes automatically under a vow (*dhṛta-vrata*) to safeguard Dharma. His freedom ends with coronation. A vow taken at his installation cannot be a more potent restraint on wayward conduct than the *daily* reminder of his subordination to the laws of divine justice.

Coronation of a Successor

Caṇḍes'vara is the only *nibandha-kāra*, who has dealt with the question of the installation of a successor, in the life-time of the previous ruler, with his concurrence and sanction. The case must have been of occasional occurrence, and would normally be possible only when the abdicating ruler was assured of the good feeling and loyalty of the successor.[1] In early ages, glorified in literature, when a king laid down his sovereignty and retired to the forest as a *vānaprastha*, as the heroes of the *Raghuvams'a* are said to have done,[2] such a case must have ordinarily arisen. The usual coronation rites would be supposed applicable in such an event. Caṇḍes'vara's extract describing the procedure on the occasion of the transfer of sovereignty is stated in one manuscript to be from *Rājadāna-taraṅga* (Rājyadāna ?). The ritual is briefer than the Purāṇic and has some points of difference. It is as follows. After finishing his daily rites, the king, or his chief priest, enters the hall of sacrifice (*yajñas'ālā*) where the

[1] *Rājanītiratnākara*, pp. 66-69.

[2] वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां (१, ८)

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ceremony is to take place, clad in white. He places there a golden pot, in front of the firepit, fills it with Ganges water or other holy water, covers the mouth, invokes Varuṇa into the pot and worships him, using a bunch of five leaves for sprinkling. After the worship, medicinal plants are thrown into the pot. The following divinities are then be invoked and worshipped: S'rī, Viṣṇu, Umā, S'iva (Īs'āna) and the lords of Gaṇas (Gaṇapati), the planets (Gṛhapati, *i.e.* Sūrya) and of the quarters (the Lokapālas), with fire offerings, through *ājya*, with appropriate *mantras*. After the invocation is revoked (*visṛjya*), the king sprinkles (*abhiṣiñcet*) the heir-apparent with water taken in the tuft of leaves aforesaid, in the presence of allies, Brahmans, merchants, ministers and relations, the appropriate *mantras* of propitiation (*s'āntimantra*) being recited simultaneously. The prince stands on a tiger skin, when being sprinkled. The king then seats the prince on the throne, garlands him, smears him with sandal, decorates him with the royal fillet (*paṭa*) and head-dress (*uṣṇīṣa*) and jewels set with pearls and precious stones, and presents to him the royal umbrella, fly-whisks, and sandals. Thus dressed up, the kingdom with the remaining six elements (*ṣaḍaṅga*) is made over to the new ruler. The old king makes the *tilaka* on the forehead (of the new ruler thrice, of the size of the great toe. Dūrva grass and rice are spinkled on his head, and he is made to see curds and fried grain (*lāja*). The retiring king then proclaims again and again—" From today the kingdom is not mine, this is the king, and may he protect the subjects ", and call upon every one, including the subjects (in whom there lies divinity, *prajā-Viṣṇum*) to witness the change of sovereignty.

The Qualities Required of the King

In the glorification of kingship the stress is on the duty of the subjects to the ruler. The relation between the two necessitates a corresponding elaboration of the qualities which a king should possess if he should deserve the office. The *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and the *smṛtis* deal comprehensively with the requisite *rājaguṇāḥ*. A collection of these is made by Lakṣmīdhara in chapter III. The enunciation of these qualifications is necessary, because of the exaltation of the monarch's person and

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office. It should be made clear that a king is no king, when he does not come up to the required standard. Bṛhaspati (*infra*. p. 82) has pointed out that lordship and his office do not desert the innocent king. When defects in a king's son have a limited scope for *public* harm, the vices or weaknesses of a king will prove a major disaster. A section of the book is devoted accordingly to the actions of the consecrated king (*abhiṣikta-kṛtyāni*). One wanting in ability could not fill the position properly. "A king lacking ability will surely be unable to protect his subjects. A kingdom is a heavy burden, difficult to bear.[1] A description of the vices or temptations to which kings are likely to succumb is as much called for as the specification of the good qualities which ensure a successful reign.

The royal weaknesses or temptations are collectively termed *vyasana*. Ten of them are born of "passion" and eight of anger, says Manu (*inf.* p. 143). Hunting, gambling, sleeping by day, scandalous talk, drink, excessive indulgence in music, acting and dancing, music and drink, and aimless tours are vices of the first type. Meanness, rashness, treachery, envy, slander of rivals, wastefulness, violent temper, and excessive severity are of the second class. They have all to be conquered by careful self-discipline. In wastefulness must be included neglect of forts and buildings, and lavish gifts out of season and to undeserving persons. The enemies of man are said to be six (*ṣaḍ-varga*) *viz.* sexual indulgence, temper, intoxication, pride, covetousness and self-satisfaction. An undisciplined nature and want of humanity leads to disaster. It undermines a king's prosperity as age destroys beauty (p. 148). Six ancient instances of rulers destroyed by arrogance are given (p. 157) from Manu, and four of those who were raised by modesty. The correctives to the tendencies to vice are careful education and training as a prince, proper choice of associates from youth upwards, good advisers, a life full of beneficent activity and methodical habits. Natural gifts should be strengthened by training and study.

On the positive side, the enumeration of virtues is fairly exhaustive. About forty-five are enumerated by S'aṅka-Likhita

[1] शान्तिपर्वणि (९१, ४८) यथा—न जात्वदक्षो नृपतिः प्रजाः शक्नोति रक्षितुम् । भारो हि सुमहान् तात राज्यं नाम सुदुर्वहम् ॥

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(p. 18). A broad outlook (*sthūlalakṣya*), gratitude, reverence for the aged, personal purity, a charitable-disposition, courage and mastery of the relevant sciences are emphasized by Yājñavalkya (p. 19). Self-reliance, eloquence and conversational gifts are indicated by Kātyāyana (p. 20). Viṣṇu looks for success only in the close identification of the ruler with the happiness and sorrows of his people. A compassionate disposition, sympathy with the poor and afflicted, kindness to servants, relentlessness towards foes, and straight dealing are also emphasised (p. 21). All concur in calling for consideration to Brāhmaṇas. Gautama roundly declares that the king "rules" every one except the Brāhmaṇa, and the declaration is interpreted as implying that when they err they should receive more consideration than others who transgress. It is not a claim for *imperium in imperio* on behalf of a class, like that claimed in Europe by the Church in the Middle Ages. India knows no such thing as the " benefit of the clergy."

The *smṛtis* lay strees on certain virtues and weaknesses more than others, leading to the implication that they were likely to be more needed (as virtues) and more common (as vices) than others. One of these qualities is prompt despatch of business, and condemnation of laziness or postponement of business. The *dīrgha-sūtra*, the procrastinator, is condemned by all authorities. An autocrat, with ministers, has every inducement to leave the disposal of business to them and to let things slide. Dilatory methods in administration afflict the people. Delayed justice is injustice. This is why As'oka lays claim to his own prompt disposal of business, to his availability at all places and times for the transaction of state business, and to his determination to see that there is no delay in the disposal of business by his own servants.[1] But promptness is not the same as impulsive and hasty action. To act in haste, anger, pride, over-confidence (*māna*) and rage and in an impious mood is not the promptitude required in administration (p. 153).

Self-control is dictated to kings as much by prudence as by ethical considerations. A king who is master of wealth but not of his passions or temper courts ruin.(p. 150). One brake on

[1] The whole of the Sixth Rock Edict is devoted to the subject of prompt despatch. See D. R. Bhandarkar, *As'oka*, 1932, pp. 315-316.

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hasty action is the practice of consultation of ministers. Yama is quoted in *Vīramitrodaya*[1] for the view that the king who never acts alone in business (*naikaḥ kāryāṇai yaḥ kuryāt*) succeeds in permanently gaining the earth (*atyantam yāti medinīm*).[2] Constant association with virtuous and learned men is held up to the king as of lasting benefit to himself and to the kingdom. On the other hand an atheist or blasphemer must be kept out,[3] and the cultivation of philosophy (*ānvīkṣikī* or *ātmavidyā*) must be in branches which are not opposed to the scriptures (*vedāviruddha*). Both the motive to right conduct and restraint of wrong-doing must be based on a conception of morality, which finds its meaning in the faith that goodness is grounded in God, that He alone is perfection, as well as the ground and goal of goodness, and that all action must aim at an approximation to Him. This is the Dhārmic view. It is particularly applicable for restraining autocratic authority. The *cārvāka* or *nāstika* or *pāṣaṇḍa* recognizes no standard but his own, and a king who falls under their influence will degenerate into the slave of his own impulses and sensual cravings, to the ruin of himself and his kingdom. The atheist's crime is his undermining the foundations of moral conduct. This is why writers on Arthas'astra also condemn his association.[4]

THE DUTIES OF THE CROWNED KING (ABHIṢIKTA-KṚTYA)

The treatment of the duties is usually prefaced by discussions of the proper place of self-reliance and dependence upon divine action, or to put it in a different way, between free will and predestination. The quality which makes a ruler function properly is termed *Pauruṣam* (manliness). The

[1] *Nītiprakās'a*, p, 134.

[2] See Manu, VII, 55, quoted *infra*, p. 23 and the *Mahābhārata*, on p. 149.

[3] Cf. Manu, IV, 123.—नास्तिक्यं वेदनिन्दां च देवतानां च कुत्सनम् । द्वेषं दम्भं च मानं च क्रोधं तैक्ष्ण्यं च वर्जयेत् । and II, 10,11—श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः । ते सर्वार्थेषु मीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्मो हि निर्बभौ । योऽवमन्येत ते मूले हेतुशास्त्राया-द्विजः । स साधुभिर्बहिष्कार्यो नास्तिको वेदनिन्दकः ।

See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmas'āstra*, II, (1941), pp. 359-360 for further references.

[4] See *S'ukranīti*, IV, i, 194-222.

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consideration of the topic is brought by Mitramis'ra under counsel (*mantra*), while Lakṣmīdhara brings it under expedition (*yātrā*), one of the six traditional expedients of policy. His sovereign was in a real sense a *vijigīṣu*, 'would-be-conqueror,' imbued with a desire to extend his dominions. A fatalistic disposition in such a person will spell ruin. Certain verses attributed to Manu, but not found in the extant *Manusmṛti* (p. 140), are quoted to advocate a combination of reliance on one's own effort as well as on divine support, and to condemn a spirit of fatalistic quietism. Fatalism is the creed of the coward and the sluggard, says the *Rāmāyaṇa* (p. 140). For success a conjunction of divine support, personal initiative and a suitable moment are all three needed (p. 141). What is termed *Daiva* (divine support) is really one's own making (*ātmakṛtam vidyāt*), says Vyāsa (p. 141); for, it is only the fruit of individual effort in a past birth, which is remembered and acts in the next. Man is the master of his fate.

The negative aspect of royal conduct, *i.e.*, what the king has to avoid, has been already indicated. On the positive side, some desultory advice is given. The king should be humble, and continue to learn the art of government. Even from the prattle of a child he may learn wisdom (p. 149). The king who will not heed the advice tendered by his real friends is his foe's best ally (p. 150). His efforts should be directed to keep up his strength for offence and defence (Gautama). He must be secret and yet master the secrets of his foe. In attack he must be a lion, in swiftness of movement a hare, in tenacious hold a wolf, and in prolonged reflection a heron.

The King's Daily Time-Table

There is agreement among both the writers on Dharmas'āstra and Arthas'āstra in arranging the daily routine of the king, so that certain periods of the day are set apart for certain duties. Methodical attention is the only means of preventing accumulation of work or the cultivation of the condemned habit of dilatoriness. The day and the night are each divided into eight parts, of an hour and a half each, and each such part has its appointed work. The king awakes to the sound of music, and according

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to the *kāvyas*, to the chaunts of heralds and bards (*vandi-māghadhāḥ*)[1]. He retires to rest also at night to the sound of trumpets, which apparently declare that after that hour no one can see the king on business (*samvis'et tūrya-ghoṣena, prati-buddhyet tathaiva ca*). He should attend to his accounts the first thing in the morning, an injunction which emphasizes the vital consequence of finance to the kingdom. He should devote the next period to the personal conduct of trials and causes. After his judicial duties are over, he must be available to his ministers and to persons who wish to see him on public affairs. Then follow the bath and mid-day meal. After some rest and amusement in the inner apartments, he should return to work. There must be a daily review of the forces, inspection of stores and treasure, consultations with ministers (meetings of the " privy council " so to speak), and audience to the *Senānī*, conference with the secret agents, who will make confidential reports in person, immediately after his evening devotions. Then supper and rest. In intervals, he should study and employ himself in listening to the sage counsel of the aged and the wise. The drift of the arrangement is to leave no part of the day unemployed. A king should have no idle hour or holiday. Manu considerately allows him to delegate duties to the chief minister, in case of indisposition (p. 163). The three-fold duty of the king (according to Nārada) *viz.*, protection, adjudication and service to the aged and wise, will thus be daily discharged (p.154). The importance of the king's personal safety leads to the injunction to propitiate the unseen powers constantly, and to take precautions against assassination and poisoning. In audience he should always be well guarded, (*kṛta-rakṣaḥ*).

Elaborate advice is tendered to the king on the precautions to be taken against poisoning. It recalls the detailed prescriptions of the Arthas'āstra,[2] but consistently with his practice to rely only on Dharma sources, Lakṣmīdhara extracts the relevant matter from a *purāṇa*, and from Manu (pp. 158-161). Manu gives the general advice that the personal servants of the king, male and

[1] e.g. *Raghuvams'a*, V, 66-75, beginning with 'रात्रिर्गता मतिमतां वर मुञ्च शय्यां'

[2] I, 20-21 Medhātithi (VII, 152) refers to three out of the seven cases of assassination in the Seraglio recounted by Kauṭilya.

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female, should be chosen for their loyalty, incorruptibility, vigilance, and knowledge of spells and antidotes against poison. They should have been well examined before appointment. The women who attend on the king should be first examined, with the object, obviously, of seeing that their clothing or ornaments contain no poisons or weapons. The king's carriage, bed, seat, bath and toilet as well as the ornaments he wears should be examined first before he uses them. The king is advised to wear jewels containing gems which detect or cure poison (an old and widespread belief, which we find all the world over). The Chief Butler (*Sūpādhyakṣa*) [1] and the Betel-bearer (Tambūladhāri) [2] are made important court functionaries in the purāṇic extracts cited by later writers, with the special qualifications needed for their duties.

SACERDOTALISM: THE PUROHITA

It was an age of intense faith in the efficacy of sacrifices and rites for the placation of divinities. Lakṣmīdhara shares the belief. As all such rites have to be conducted under the direction or by the royal *Purohita*, this functionary has to be chosen with great care. He should be more than a priest. Expert knowledge of Astrology and Arthas'āstra will be expected of him. On the same ground, liberality to *s'rotriyas* is enjoined. The gods find delight in hearing the chanting of the Vedas, says Katyāyāna the jurist (p. 168). Donations to them constitute an inexhaustible treasure (*akṣaya-nidhiḥ*). Errors in administration are corrected or expiated by the prayers of Brāhmaṇas (p.173). There is thus identity of interest between king and Brāhmaṇa, who should accordingly be generously patronized (pp. 171-176). Regal duty does not stop with sectional patronage. It includes development of trade and crafts (p. 171), the relief of destitution, and liberal medical relief, for which hospitals should be founded.

[1] गरुडपुराणे—पितृपैतामहो दक्षः शास्त्रज्ञः सत्यवाचकः । शौचयुक्तः सदाचारः सूपकारः स उच्यते ॥ 'शास्त्रज्ञः' नल-भीम-सुषेणादिकृतसूपशास्त्रज्ञः । 'आर्द्रकं गुडसंयुक्तं' 'ताम्रपात्रे स्थितं गव्यं' इत्यादि निषिद्धज्ञानाय धर्मशास्त्रज्ञश्च (वी. मि., पृ. १८२).

[2] मात्स्ये अनाहार्योऽनृशंसश्च दृढभक्तिश्च पार्थिवे ।
ताम्बूलधारी भवति नारी वाप्यथ तद्गुणा ॥ इति वी. मि., पृ. १८१.

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The humane advice reflects the practice of good kings like As'oka, who believed in their spiritual efficaciousness.[1]

The indication of the need to maintain the first *varṇa* is supported by specific advice on the necessity to perform, with its help, certain ceremonies in order that calamities threatening the kingdom may be averted and the favour of super-natural agencies may be secured. Besides the daily worship of the household divinities every evening, *bali* offerings must be made to goblins (*pis'ācebhyaḥ*).[2] Every year, two *lakṣa-homas* must be performed, and in a reign, atleast one *koṭi-homam* for the removal of fear (*abhaya-prada*). With the help of his ministers and priest, the king should perform the ordinary, special and purposive (*kāmyāni*) rites. Expiatory ceremonies should be done at eclipses, and a *mahā-s'ānti*, when there has been an earthquake (p. 166). A king should specially worship two divinities, *viz.* Kārtikeya (to overcome enemies) and Devī, in her many manifestations, separately and as residing in the royal sword, dagger, crown and sandals, and emblazon her figure on the royal standard. They will give him victory in battle. (p. 177).

Such advice reflects Lakṣmīdhara's own convictions born of his study of the Vedic (especially Ātharvaṇa) rites, and the Purāṇas, which developed magic. The belief has always been there, and it tended to grow in times of special anxiety. We find it in the advice of the usually cool-headed and rational Kauṭilya.[3] Tāntric practices had grown fast in the days following the disruption of the Gupta empire and found their place in the *tāmasic* Purāṇas. The times were shrouded in anxiety.[4] The Gāhaḍwāla kingdom had sprung in the seething troubles of the age, and it was faced by a greater peril than any yet encountered, in the assaults of the Muslim invaders, whom Govindacandra had defeated, but who were destined

[1] See his Second Rock Edict, Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

[2] *infra*, p. 176.

[3] कौटिलीये यथा (पृ. ३६०)—"दैवादग्निरुदकं व्याधिः प्रमारो विद्रवो दुर्भिक्षं आसुरी सृष्टिः इत्यापदः। तासां दैवत-ब्राह्मणप्रणिपाततः सिद्धः। असृष्टिरतिसृष्टिर्वा सृष्टिर्वा याऽऽसुरी भवेत्। तस्यामाथर्वणं कर्म सिद्धारम्भाश्च सिद्धयः।"

[4] This is reflected in the belief in portents and treatises like Ballāla Sena's *Adbhuta-sāgara*, composed in the generation following Lakṣmīdhara's.

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ultimately to destroy his empire. A kingdom's safety lay no longer in just rule or in the administration of *varṇāśrama-dharma*, as in the heroic past. The harassed mind of the statesmen caught at means of forcing superhuman support, other than these. The reiteration of the old adjurations to maintain sacerdotal privileges, which Buddhism had attacked, the recommendation to enlist for monarchy the support of the first *varṇa*, in a work on Rājadharma, in a manner which offends *our* sense of proportion, and the specification of magical rites, of the worship of special divinities, and of the regular performance of the festivals and rites described in the last six chapters of his work,—when taken side by side with his vigorous commendation of self-reliance, energy and initiative, his severe censure of fatalistic quietism as the cult of the coward and sluggard, and his repetition of the old injunctions for just rule,—can only be interpreted as reflecting the anxieties of the age and their repercussions on the mind of a scholar-statesman. The numerous inscriptions of the period (and particularly of Govinda-candra and his family) show how such advice fell on willing ears and was gladly acted upon. The same advice, repeated in the hey-day of Mughal supremacy, by later writers on *Rājanīti*, is a patent anachronism.

The Saptāṅga

The traditional enumeration of the elements of a state is to be found in smṛtis like those of Manu (IX, 294) and Yājñavalkya (I, 354), as well as in works on Nītiśāstra (e.g. *Kāmandakīya*, IV, 1) with slight variations in names and order of enumeration. The lists of Yājñavalkya and Kāmandaka are identical. The seven are the king (*svāmī*), the ministers, the capital (usually fortified and therefore called *pura* or *durga*), the organized population (*jana* or *rāṣtra*), treasure (*kośa*), the armed forces (*bala* or *daṇḍa*), and allies (*suhṛt* or *mitra*). Manu places them in this order and states that each preceding one is more important than those following. Kāmandaka remarks that they are all mutually helpful, *i.e.* that each affects all others (*paras-paropakāra*). In modern terminology it only means that the complete kingdom should have an organized population, a ruler,

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a capital, resources in men, money and material, allies who will help in times of stress and ministers. The insistence on wealth, as an essential element, will recall the remark of Henry IV of France—' poor peasants, poor country, poor country poor king.'

Placing the king at the head of the elements is in consonance with the hypothesis of Indian polity that he stands between the people and anarchy (*a-rājatā*). The insistence on ministers, in an organization in which the king is personally responsible for the administration, is a special feature of Indian polity. The minsters may be mere advisers, but they derive their sanction from the same source as kingship itself. It would be therefore contrary to Dharma as well as to expediency, for an Indian king to rule all by himself, dismissing his ministers. The force of any advice tendered to a ruler will depend largely on the qualifications and consitutional position of the adviser. This is the reason for the great detail into which the *nibandhas*, following the smṛtis go into on the qualities of the ministers and royal servants. Manu's capital becomes the fortress (*durga*) of the Gupta epoch writers. It is tempting to read into this change the experience of the country when invading hosts of S'ākas and Huns found it easy to over-run a vast campaign, like the Gangetic basin, when it had few or no fortified cities, within which the population can withdraw and stand a successful siege. The precedence given to *rāṣṭra* (*i.e.*, the organized people) over the fortress-capital may reflect a war experience that showed (as in our own days) that cities may be taken by an enemy, but an organized nation will survive the fall of its capital. Material resources (*kos'a*) take precedence of the army (*bala*), as our own experience shows. War equipment, even in a primitive economy, means ample supplies. A suitable alliance may avert war, or distribute its burden, when it cannot be prevented. The apparently crude list will thus be seen to contain much empirical knowledge.

The list contains other implications also, when furnished by a Dharmas'āstra. Universal peace and disarmament, based on non-violence, are not reflected by it. On the other hand, the conditions postulated are those of potential war at *all* times, The king is usually termed, unless he is a man of no spirit, *vijigīṣu*, a would-be conqueror. It represents an epoch of unstable frontiers. A kingdom must always to be prepared for an attack

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on any of its frontiers, unless it has become a great empire. The kaleidoscopic changes of mediaeval India are due to the spirit. The ambition to extend the area of tributaries was nourished by the war spirit that was induced in the standing militia of Kṣatriyas. It made for internecine struggles, which weakened those who habitually took part in them, and it made them unfit to stand the assault of an enemy far more powerful than the neighbour across the frontier. In such conditions, the desire for a balance of power is automatically imposed on kingdoms, and the *rājamaṇḍala* consisting of enemies and allies of diminishing degrees, actual and potentiāl, is evolved in fact and embodied theory. This is illustrated in mediaeval India by the struggles of the powers that happened to have become supreme in the Karṇāṭaka, the Dakhan and Hindusthan. A common enemy unites in alliance his neighbours on opposite frontiers.[1] The *saptāṅga* concept has very much more history and experience behind it than a superficial survey might disclose.

The Official Hierarchy (Amātyāḥ)

The initial quotation from Yājñavalkya (I, 312) lays down two injunctions to the king: he should appoint good ministers (*san-mantriṇaḥ*) and he should hold consultations with them on matters relating to the kingdom.[2] The consultation should be followed up by a discussion of the advice (received from the minsters individually) with the chief Brāhmaṇa *i.e.* the *Purohita*, before the king takes a decision. Manu indicates the number of minsters to be appointed as seven or eight. There is a difference in the consultations, as envisaged by the two sages. Yājñavalkya makes it collective (*taiḥ sārdham*), while Manu would make it individual consultation (*teṣām svam abhiprāyam upalabhya pṛthak pṛthak*). *Every* matter should be so taken up (*sarva-kāryāṇ*). There is no cabinet of ministers, with a collective responsibility. The relation is more like that of the American

[1] Note the alliance between Govindacandra and Kulottunga Coḷa, united by fear of the ruler of the intervening Dakhan, Vikramāditya VI (Cālukya), and the Pāṇḍya and Simhalese revolts against the Cola emperor fomented by Vikramāditya. See Introduction to *Dānakāṇḍa*, p. 14 and p. 36.

[2] Lakṣmīdhara, as noted by Mitramiśra (p. 177), adopts the reading सन्मन्त्रिणः in Yājñavalkya, I, 312, while Vijñāneśvara reads स मन्त्रिणः

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ministers to the President. The *Purohita* is expected to be able from equal or superior knowledge, such as a mere priest will not ordinarily possess to review the expert advice tendered. The "chief Brahman" is the lineal successor of the Vedic *Puroḍhā*, whose identity with his king was represented in picturesque figures. When S'ivāji created the famous *Aṣṭa-pradān* council, the Peshwah was styled *Paṇḍit Pradhān*, being the chief adviser. A premiership is not however implied in the *Purodhā* as, unlike the other *mantriṇs*, he is not the head of a department of the administration, there being a special *Dharmādhikārin* for ecclesiastical affairs.

The qualifications specified are designed to ensure both loyalty and efficiency. The ministers are all to be of good lineage (*kulīnāḥ*). They should be hereditary subjects of the kingdom (*maula*) and so have a stake in the country, and remain there to experience the results of their own advice and actions. The ministers are pledged to speak out what they honestly think and feel, and are immune from the king's displeasure if they do so. Once they have discharged the duty, and the king has come to a different decision, they must carry it out loyally. Kātyāyana pointedly observes that the kingdom is ruined in which ministers, assessors and physicians merely try to please the king by giving advice which is palatable, instead of speaking out (p. 24). The minister should speak what is good for the ruler, not what is agreeable to him. "Easily found are men who always speak what is agreeable; far harder is it to find one who will utter unpalatable truth and the ruler who will hear it patiently" (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *inf.* p. 103).

The qualifications for the several offices are laid down with insight into their requirements. The Chamberlain (*Pratīhārī*), for instance, who played the part of a modern aide-de-camp, is to have a fine presence, tact, charm and suavity (p. 25). The *Sandhivigrahika* should be an adept in the six-fold policy, a judge of opportunity and a diplomat. The description is interesting in view of the office having been held by Lakṣmī-dhara himself (p. 26). The officers are to be watched by reliable secret-service agents (*cāra*). The *Dharmādhakārī* should be chosen for being a leading Brāhmaṇa, well versed in Dharma-s'āstra, and absolutely impartial. The attendants in the seraglio

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should not be under fifty years of age, if women, and under seventy, if men.

An officer of high rank was the *Dūta*, usually taken as equivalent to a modern ambassador extra-ordinary.[1] Great importance was attached to his service, which might secure war or peace. His knowledge and ability should be correspondingly high. He was expected to collect information from other courts for his own king. Selection for the duty implied great confidence in his talent, integrity and judgment. S'rī Kṛṣṇa acted as *Dūta* for his Pāṇḍava cousins and Hanūmān as *dūta* for S'rī Rāma. By recognised inter-statal usage a *Dūta* could not be slain but, if caught in unfriendly acts, he might be chastised, or disfigured (p. 34).

The offices specified are obviously illustrative, not exhaustive. It is not right to presume that all the offices mentioned were in existence in every state of ancient India. An attempt would of course be made to Sanskritize the names of functionaries peculiar to a state, as was done in the Marātha kingdom founded by S'ivāji. Some idea of the actual offices in the kingdom of Kanauj in Lakṣmīdhara's time may be derived from the extant inscriptions. The chief queen (*paṭṭa-mahiṣī*) and the *yuvarāja* exercised almost regal powers in the time of Govindacandra's predecessor, and their consent to grants is recorded therein. As in the Purāṇa extracts, officers of state and officers of the royal household are mixed up in the inscriptions, as in mediaeval Europe. The following officers are named in inscriptions of the dynasty: *Mantrin* (Chief Minister); *Purohita*; *Pratīhāra*, or Chamberlain; *Senādhipati* (Commander-in-chief); *Bhāṇḍagārika* (Storekeeper); *Akṣapaṭalika* (Record-keeper, the Nāna Faḍnavīs of the Marātha times); *Bhiṣak* (the Prāṇācārya of the Purāṇa), the chief physican; *Naimittika* or Astrologer (the old *S'āmvatsarika* of the coronation); *Antaḥpurika* (Seraglio Superintendent); *Dūta* or envoy; *Kāyastha* (scribe); *Ākarādhikārā*, Superintendent of mines; and *Paṭṭaṇādhikāra-puruṣa* (Mayor of Town). A *Dharmādhikaraṇika* is also mentioned in an inscription. The list shows that the Puranic extract was well chosen for its tallying with actual conditions.

[1] No permanent embassies are contemplated in Indian polity.

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The copper plate grant of Candradeva and Madanapāla of the Gāhaḍvāla dynasty, dated 1097-98, is addressed to his queen, heir-apparent and officers as under : *Rājarājñi, Yuvarāja, Mantri, Purohita, Pratīhāra, Senāpati, Bhāṇḍāgārika, Akṣa-paṭalika, Bhiṣak, Naimittika, Antaḥpurika, Dūta, Kari-Turga-Paṭṭaṇa-Ākara-Sthāna-Gokula-adhikaripuruṣān, samajñāpayati, bodhayati, ādis'ati ca.* The order of enumeration seems to follow a warrant of precedence and the forms of communication (*samājñāpayati, bodhayati, ādisati, i.e.*, 'commands', 'calls the attention of' and 'orders') to the styles appropriate to the rank of the persons addressed.

The Gāhaḍvāla grants show that they passed through three officers, whose names are often found, apparently for authentication, in the documents themselves: one of them drafts the grant *e.g.*, Pandit Vidyādāsa, who composed the grants of 1105 A.D., (No. E 11 and 12 in the Lucknow Museum) ; another writes it out (in ink) on the plates, (usually a Karaṇika or Kāyastha) and then, a goldsmith or other artisan engraves the grant, following the writing of the Karaṇika. Some of the Karaṇikas bear the title of Thakkūra. It is evident that a *Sandhivigrahika*, even of lower rank than the Mahā-Sāndhivigrahika, did *not* draft such grants. In one case the writer of the grant (not the composer) bears the designation *Dharmalekhin*. Most of the grants found in Benares are to the hereditary Purohit, Jāgūs'arman, who is termed *Mahā-purohita* in an inscription of Govindacandra, dated Samvat 1176. In an inscription written 21 years later, this priest is referred to as *Dikṣita* Jāgūs'arman, having perhaps performed in the interval a *yāga* (sacrifice). This priest's place is taken from 1151 A.D. by his son Paharājas'arman, who also bears the title of *Rauṭa*.

The position of chief minister or adviser, which the *smṛtis* would give to the *Mahāpurohita* or *Purodhā* appears in historical times to have passed on to other ministers. Kāḷidāsa, the general of Jagadekammalla, was Mahāpradhān (premier). The *Mantri* of the Gāhaḍvālas was their premier. Lakṣmīdhara refers to himself as *Mantrīs'vara*, Chief Minister, while the title *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, by which he styles himself and his father, is not among the dignitaries to whom the

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Gāhaḍvāla order cited above is addressed. It may indicate that the two offices were combined in him, as premier. The description of qualifications in the smṛtis and Purāṇas would indicate that the Commander-in-chief was expected to be an educated person, but the other ministers were not necessarily expected to lead armies in the field.

THE ADMINISTRATION (RĀṢTRASAMGRAHAṆAM)

Samgraha is interpreted as 'means of protection.' A properly formed administrative system furnishes the means. Its consideration logically follows that of the central executive consisting of the king-in-ministry (*rāja-amātya*). A chapter (ch. 7) is devoted to it by Lakṣmīdhara.

The local administration is interpreted in terms of the classification made by Manu, beginning with the family (*kula*) as the unit. A village (*grāma*) is made up of several resident families. The villages are grouped in tens, hundreds and thousands. It is unlikely that such decimal grouping was actual. It is only illustrative. The village community managed its own affairs, only offences which the state had to deal with being disposed of by the headmen of villages and higher groups who were appointed by the state. The smaller groups of 10 to 30 villagers are known from inscriptions to have been under officers, who were usually also at the head of the small forces settled for internal order in the midst of groups of villages. The group above it was the *bhukti*, comprising from 100 to 500 villages, under *bhogapatis* or *bhogikas*. Several *bhuktis* made up a *viṣaya* or district, and several *viṣayas* a *rāṣtra* (province), indicating by its title that it was formed from some old chiefship. The *rāṣtrapati* would usually exercise authority over an area corresponding to a modern division. His status often gave him the rank of *mahā-maṇḍales'vara*. Such a personage would be more than a *sahasrādhipa* of Manu, entitled to reimburse himself for the cost of his administration from the income of several towns, made up from the *daily* contributions in kind or service, as distinguished from the land revenue, which was an *annual* payment, and other taxes. For military organization, S'ankha-Likhita (p. 82) indicate a salary of two gold coins a month for the cavalryman.

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For special service rendered by soldiers, extra payments in the form of gifts, marks of distinction, etc. will be given. Compassionate grants are to me made to the families of soldiers killed on duty (p. 82). This must again be regarded as merely illustrative of the line of action which a king should take. Wages for men and women engaged in state work are to be on a daily basis, and bear a due relation to the status of the workman and the task assigned to him. The king is warned to protect the subjects against the illegal exactions and oppression of his subordinates (p. 83). The accountant (*kāyastha*) had, then as now, a bad name for his ingenious devices for making illicit profit. Yājñavalkya (like Kalhaṇa) singles him out for special mention among habitual oppressors (p. 83). A duty is laid on the king to maintain *s'rotriyas* (learned Brāhmaṇas) who will be usually poor and engaged in ungainful occupations, destitute young women and widows, and infirm family men. "The king is the refuge of those who lack protectors, the asylum of those who are homeless, the son of the sonless person, who has none else to maintain him in old age, and the father of destitute orphans." (Kātyāyana, p. 84). The task of public education devolved on the learned Brāhmaṇa, who could exact no fee from his pupils for his teaching and the board he gave them. Meeting his expenditure from the fisc was equivalent to grants for education. A sixth of the spiritual merit of the educational, sacrificial and devotional labour of the Brāhmaṇa was believed to accrue to the king, on the analogy of the sixth of the increase of the land that goes to the ruler (p. 85). Anchorites, *sanyāsins*, learned Brāhmaṇas and those among them who maintain the sacred fire (*āhitāgnayaḥ*) are persons, who *do* contribute to the commonweal, because they too yield a sixth of their harvest of merit (*puṇya*), declares Yama (p. 85). The idea of this invisible contribution is elaborated by Manu. He declares that the king receives from every one his sixth, be it of wealth or of merit or of sin !

This is the logical extension of the idea that sin and *puṇya* in the kingdom result from the king's neglect or conservation of Dharma. The protection, which the king gives, is not only material, *i.e.*, internal security and security against invasion. It includes protection against seasonal vicissitudes and other

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manifestations of the displeasure of the gods. A ruler who takes his taxes, but omits the performance of his religious duties is a thief, declares Manu. The emphatic assertion of a duty that a king of lax belief might neglect reflects the importance which is attached in Dharmaśāstra to the spiritual obligations of the State.

REVENUE AND TREASURE

The Dharmaśāstra is less concerned with the details of a complete scheme of public finance than is Arthaśāstra. The pre-occupation of the former is with what may be rightfully taken and the fiscal obligations which rightfully lie on the king. As the king is expected, along with his officers, to be well trained in Arthaśāstra and the economics of agriculture and commerce (*vārta* and *vāṇijya*), it is not necessary for a *dharma-nibandha* to go beyond laying down certain general principles, and certain injunctions and inhibitions. Fiscal devices that do not contravene these are legitimate, and may be resorted to.

A king without treasure is no king. He cannot function. He draws his resources from the wealth of his subjects, the increase of whose riches is therefore to his own advantage. Wealth need not be despised. It is the source of not only all human satisfactions but of the craving for right-action and ultimate release (p. 87). Wealth begets wealth, as elephants are caught through elephants, an injunction which implies the wise and productive uses of wealth by the individual and by the state. A tax scheme which trenches on capital is condemned on this principle. The wise milker leaves enough milk in the cow's udder to sustain the calf, for whose sustenance milk is secreted. The tax should be so collected as not to strain the payer. The king should imitate the leech (*vāryaka*), the calf, and the bee. The simile also suggests collection in instalments, which will not impinge on the productive and saving capacity of the subject. Duties, which fall (in the first instance) on the merchant, *i.e.*, indirect taxes, should take into consideration all equities and make all due allowance for cost-price, sale-price, carriage, overhead costs, and depreciation. Taxes should be only on what accrues. Remissions of taxes on failure, partial or

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total, of harvests, must be given. It is just to expect every one to contribute what is in his power to the support of the kingdom. Greed should not impel a king to cut his own roots as well as those of his subjects. He should ignore no just source of revenue or grasp on any which will destroy the tax-payer. (p. 93). Even when he is hard up, let not the king lay his hand on what he should not take, nor give up any claim, merely because the treasury is already full. The second maxim may seem to offend the modern fiscal conscience, which abhors hoarding, unless it can be shown that it is needed as a war reserve or as an insurance. War and famine were ever-present menaces in India. The building up of surpluses as a reserve against them is therefore defensible.

The rates of taxation laid down in *smṛtis*, which must have been based on accumulated experience, are specified (pp. 28-89). To exceed the proportions will be a contravention of Dharma. The items specified are not deemed exhaustive. Outside specified items, it is open to raise revenue, when needed, without violating the fundamental principles. Hence it was the practice, not to alter the fixed rates, but to add in imposts made up of supplementary charges. Their number tended to increase with the needs of the state and the ingenuity of the finance minister. Lakṣmidhara's own king levied quite a number of such additional taxes or imposts, as may be gathered from the inscriptions of the reign (*vide* R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, 1937, pp. 346-351). One of the new taxes was *turuṣka-daṇḍa*, a war-levy to meet the extra burden of resisting the Muslim invader.[1]

Fiscal Exemptions

Taxation is based in ancient India on certain principles. First, *it is according to faculty*. He who has no resources need not be asked to pay taxes. The poor, the maimed, and those who from their dependent condition are themselves in need of help are naturally exempt, as are also recluses. Āpastamba is cited (p. 91) in support of the exemption from state dues of learned Brāhmaṇas, women of the four *varṇas* (thereby excluding

[1] So, V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 400. Sten Konow (*Epig. Ind.*, IX, p. 329) suggests that it was a tax imposed on Muslims settled in the kingdom of Kanauj—a Hindu equivalent to the *Jizya*. This is unlikely.

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from the exemption women of *pratiloma* castes) boys, students who live with their teacher (and are supported by him) and those who perform lawful austerities (*dharmaparāḥ*), thereby excluding from the exemption those who practise sorcery or witchcraft, or rites designed to attain specific aims or power, S'ūdras, who live serving Brāhmaṇas (literally, ' washing their feet '), the blind, the dumb and the very old, persons actually afflicted by disease (incapacitating them for gainful occupation) ; and those who, by their order, are prohibited from holding or acquiring wealth *e.g. sanyāsins*. The cripple, the idiot (*jaḍah*) and men over seventy years of age are exempted by Manu from taxation of *any* sort (p. 92). Vasiṣṭha, (XIX, 23), in a passage which is not cited by Lakṣmīdhara, explains the exemption of a learned Brāhmaṇa (*s'rotriya*) by specifying his exclusion, in spite of the wider rule (I, 43) exempting *all* Brāhmaṇas, and the commentator Kṛṣṇa-paṇḍita, thinks that the king, however distressed should take no contribution from the *Vaidīka* Brāhmaṇa while under such circumstances the unlearned Brāhmaṇa may be taxed. There must be a surplus left after meeting the cost of maintaining bare life before one can be taxed. Hence, the rule of Vasiṣṭha (cited on p. 92) exempting forest tribes, who make a precarious living by burning the jungle and getting a catch-crop. The second principle is that *double payment should be avoided*. A contribution may be in cash or in kind. Thirdly, *every one must contribute*, to the extent of his *potential* capacity. He who is physically competent but poor should contribute his labour. It applies to artisans, apparently as an option (p. 92). Taxes and contributions levied from subjects are in return of the protection afforded by the king, *i.e.* the state. The king, who collects them but fails to give due protection, is a robber in fact, if not in name. One of the six, who should be abandoned, even as a wrecked ship is by its crew, (*bhinnām nāvam ivārṇave*) is the ' king who fails to protect ' (*arakṣitāram rājānam*), says the *Mahābhārata*.[1] The

[1] शान्तिपर्व, ५६, ४४—(ed. Kumbakonam)—
षडेतान् पुरुषान् जह्यात् भिन्नां नावमिवार्णवे ।
अप्रवक्तारमाचार्यं अनधीयानमृत्विजम् ॥
अरक्षितारं राजानं भार्यां चाप्रियवादिनीम् ।
ग्रामकामं च गोपालं वनकामं च नापितम् ॥

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same work (*ib.* 61, 31-32) declares that a cruel tyrant, who fails to protect his subjects but robs them, is a Kali in the guise of a king; he should be killed by the united people (*hanyuḥ prajāh sannahya.*)[1] On the other side no subject can escape making his contribution to the state. Taxability is personal. Potential capacity to earn income is equal to the possession of taxable income, and a sturdy mendicant, who is now a burden on the community, could have been made to work for his quota. It is permissible to see in this rule the means of reducing idle vagrancy, which becomes a menace to society.

Brāhmaṇa Immunities

The question of the freedom of the *Brāhmaṇa* from taxation raises again the consideration of the bases of *varṇa* privileges. The immunities are laid down in every *smṛti* and book dealing with Dharma. The Purāṇas go even farther than the smṛtis. Manu emunciates the theory that the state is firmly based on a union of the two first *varṇas*[2] (IX, 322). Without the Brāhmaṇa to perform the expiatory and propitiatory rites, on which the king's prosperity depends, the king cannot prosper : nor can the Brāhmaṇa subsist without the king to protect him and his religious rites. The union of the two makes for prosperity in this and happiness in the next world. Yama, in an expressive simile, compares the Brāhmaṇa to the root of the tree which is the king, the subjects to its leaves and the ministers to its branches (inf. 173) The king should not appropriate the wealth of the Brāhmaṇa (*Brahamsvam*). It is more deadly than the most virulent poison.[3] The resumption of any gift of land made

[1] अनुशासनपर्व, ६१, ३२, ३३ (ed. Ray).—
अरक्षितारं हर्तारं विलोप्तारमनयाकम् ।
तं वै राजकलिं हन्युः प्रजास्सन्नह्य निर्घृणम् ॥
'अहं वो रक्षिते' त्युक्त्वा यो न रक्षति भूमिपः ।
स संहत्य निहन्तव्यः श्वेव सोन्माद आतुरः ॥

[2] मनुस्मृति, ९, ३२२,—
नाऽब्रह्मक्षत्रमृध्नोति नाऽक्षत्रं ब्रह्म वर्द्धते ।
ब्रह्म क्षत्रं च संपृक्तमिह चाऽमुत्र वर्द्धते ॥

[3] वीरमित्रोदय, पृ. १५०—
न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते ।
विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं सप्तपूरुषान् ॥

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to a Brāhmaṇa is prohibited, whether the gift was made by a king or by a predecessor.[1] A Brāhmaṇa's property is not lost by adverse possession or by limitation.[2] (*Manusmṛti*, VIII, 149) All finders of treasure-trove have to surrender to the king, according to their *varṇa*, a portion of the find, except the Brahmaṇa who gets the whole, besides shares in all finds.[3] There is a difference of opinion among commentators like Vijñānes'vara and Aparārka on the reconciliation of the apparent conflict between the injunctions of Gautama, Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu and Yājñvalkya on the different proportions of treasure-trove to go to the state and to the finders of different castes. Mitramis'ra discusses it at length (pp. 266-268). The topic is omitted by Lakṣmīdhara. When Mitramis'ra wrote the question must have passed, with well-established Mughal sovereignty, outside the field of practical politics.

The position is stated by Vasiṣṭha (I, 42-43) : "The king who rules in accordance with Dharma shall take one-sixth of wealth ; but, from others than Brāhmaṇas ; for he obtains a sixth of the (merit) of *iṣṭā* and *pūrtā* rites (performed by them) ; and (because) the Brāhmaṇa enriches the Veda (*i.e.* makes the Veda bring prosperity by using it in rites), and rescues (all) from calamities. This is why the Brāhmaṇa is non-taxable. Soma is *his* king."[4] This declaration seems to place the members of the first *varṇa* outside not only the fiscal but the entire jurisdiction of the state. *Mahabhārata* (*S'ānti-parva*, 76, 8), describes Brāhmaṇas, who desert their spiritual offices and austerities and betake themselves to low occupations, and winds up by declaring that *they* are not *s'rotriyas*, because they do not maintain the fire (*an-āhitāgnayaḥ*). *Them* the

[1] परदत्तां च भुवं नापहरेत् । (विष्णुस्मृति, ३, ८३).

[2] आधिः सीमा बालधनं निक्षेपोपनिधिः स्त्रियः । राजस्वं श्रोत्रियस्वं च न भोगेन प्रणश्यति ॥ (८, १४९).

[3] If the King himself found a treasure, he was to yield a half to Brāhmaṇas. See Gautama (X, 43-45), Vasiṣṭha (III, 13-14), Viṣṇu (III, 56-64), Yājñavalkya (II, 34-35) and Manu (VIII, 37-38).

[4] राजा तु धर्मेणानुशासत्षष्ठं धनस्य हरेत् । अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणान् । इष्टापूर्तस्य तु षष्ठांशं भजतीतिह ब्राह्मणो वेदमाढ्यं करोति ब्राह्मणो आपद उद्धरति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो नाद्यः । सोमोस्य राजा भवतीति ह ।

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king must compel to pay every kind of tax.[1] It has already been shown that Vasiṣṭha himself restricts total exemption from taxation to *s'rotriyas*, and the commentator implies that even a Brāhmaṇa, who is not a *s'rotriya*, enjoys the exemption, except in times of difficulty for the king.

There is history behind the statement that while every one's king is the *de facto* ruler, Soma (the god) is the king to Brāhmaṇas. This is stated in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[2] While everything is "food" for the king, the king himself is "food" for the Brāhmaṇa. The king wields the *daṇḍa* (rod of punishment) over every one, but the Brāhmaṇa has a counter-rod (*pratidaṇḍa*)—the power of the curse or excommunication, which can be used even against the king (*Pañcavims'a Brāhmaṇa*, XVIII, 10, 8). It shows the superiority of the spiritual to the the temporal power. It may be regarded, as is done by Dr. A. K. Coomarasamy, as the mastery of mind over mere force, of the adviser over the executive. Without the Brāhmaṇa's co-operation a *yāga* is impossible, and both are the supporters of the sacrificial rites (*dhṛtavratau*). Dr. Jayaswal holds that the original claim was only for tax-exemption, which was later on expanded into one for independence of a civil power.[3] Dr. A. K. Coomarasamy holds[4] that the claim for superiority is Vedic, that the *smṛti* merely repeats what is in the Veda, and that there was no *conscious* imposition of the Brahmanical power over the civil in the days of the Dharmasāstras. It is worth noting that no mere assertion of such a claim will receive recognition from king or people except in an age in which *both* believed in them, no less than those in whose favour they seem to be urged. It is this feeling which is behind the exaltation of both the spiritual power, as exemplified by the Brāhmaṇa, and the 'civil,' as denoted by the king in the Dharmas'āstra

[1] अश्रोत्रियाः सर्व एते सर्वे चाऽनाहिताग्नयः ।
तान्सर्वान् धार्मिको राजा बलिं विष्टिं च कारयेत् ॥ (शान्तिपर्व, ७६, ८).

[2] शतपथब्राह्मणे, (५, ४, २, ३):—
तदस्मा ऽ इदँ सर्वमाद्यं करोति ब्राह्मणमेवापोद्धरति । तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो नाद्यः । सोमराजा हि भवति ॥

[3] *Hindu Polity*, II, p. 32.

[4] *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government*, New Haven, 1942.

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literature. It negatives the division of the motives impelling to the formation of the state into temporal and spiritual, and affirms the union of both as necessary for the upkeep of society. The chief priest (*Purodhā*) takes precedence of the king, and he who puts him before the king is the king himself. This is shown by the use of the marriage formula—"I am That, thou art This, I am the Sky, thou art the Earth," etc.—in the colloquy between priest and king in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 27). The support of the wielder of spiritual power enables the wielder of force to function rightfully as the head of the community. A king is no king, endowed with the rights and duties of the office, till he has been sprinkled (*abhiṣikta*) in the ceremony of coronation, conducted by the Brāhmaṇa. It is reading history backwards to interpret the mutual relations of the *sacerdotum* and *regnum* as rivalry, and not willing union, and to read the minds of those who accepted the arrangement by our own psychology. In the minds of the persons, who accepted the idea, inherent in *varṇāśrama-dharma* generally and in the first *varṇa* specifically, the apparent immunity is no immunity, as it is contingent explicitly on the fulfilment of obligations, lying on the first *varṇa* from birth, by the members of it to whom the exemptions from taxation, or from ordinary scales of punishment or ordinary jurisdiction, are to apply. Honour in lieu of material advantages, voluntary gifts on a few occasions in lieu of inherited wealth, casual income, liability to a life of austere poverty, hard study and unremunerated teaching, went along with protection from wanton insult (warded off by exceptionally severe penalties), freedom from calls that would stand in the way of the discharge of religious obligations (*e.g.* exemption from summons to courts as witnesses, *Viṣṇu*, VIII, 1-2), and a tariff of penalties, which differs from the ordinary in attacking only those possessions, which constitute the Brāhmaṇa's strength and claim to consideration. The first *varṇa* was deemed an asset to the kingdom, *if* its members discharged their appointed functions or did their Dharma. This is why in colonisation, and the formation of fortified cities or fortresses, which are destined for refuge in times of grave national stress, the king is enjoined to fill them them with *śrotriyas*. Their decay leads

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to a weakening of the kingdom in every one of its elements. This is the meaning of the warning that the kingdom in which Brāhmaṇas perish of starvation itself perishes,[1] and of the denunciation of the eight forms of baiting or persecution of Brāhmaṇas as steps in rapid ruin.[2] The same principle underlies the special treatment of Brāhmaṇas in civil and criminal law. There is no intention in the scheme of making things easy and comfortable to one *varṇa* at the expense of others. The inscriptions of mediaeval India show how thoroughly society was steeped in this belief. Differences of treatment based on service or merit, when duly recognized, do not create a feeling of unfair discriminaton and class rivalry.

THE ALLY (MITRA)

The section on the *ally*, who is included in the traditional enumeration of the seven limbs of the kingdom (*inf.* p. 97), as the last and the least in importance, is one of the briefest, and is reproduced entire by the *Vīramitrodaya*. In a condition of weak inter-statal law, and of small states, alliances are obviously desirable, particularly for small powers. But, since the aim of every state will be to look first and last to its own interests, alliances which are not based on natural causes, such as situation, are apt to be weak. The ally of today may be the foe of tomorrow, and the enemy of today may become an ally in the future. Self-interest is the strongest motive (*svārthastu balavattaraḥ*) and it overcomes likes and dislikes (p. 97). Interests create friendships and enmities in states, and there is no such

[1] विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे यथा—
यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये श्रोत्रियः सीदति क्षुधा ।
तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं दुर्भिक्षव्याधितस्करैः ॥ (वी. मि., पृ., १२७).

[2] महाभारते—
अष्टौ पूर्वनिमित्तानि नरस्य विरमिष्यतः ।
ब्राह्मणान् प्रथमं द्वेष्टि ब्राह्मणांश्च विरुद्धयते ॥
ब्राह्मणस्वानि चादत्ते ब्राह्मणांश्च जिघांसति ।
रमते निन्दया चैषां प्रशंसां नाभिनन्दति ॥
नैतान्स्मरति कृत्येषु याचितश्चाभ्यसूयति ।
एतान्दोषान्नरः प्राज्ञो बुद्धया बुद्ध्वा विसर्जयेत् ॥ (वी. मि., पृ. १४४).

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thing as a permanent *entente cordiale* between states. A power which is now weak may become strong in future, and a growing power should be made an ally and kept an ally by all devices. Even a weak ally, if he is loyal and dependable, is an asset. It is this which makes an alliance more valuable to a state than the acquisition of treasure and territory (Manu, *inf.*, p. 96). The implication is two-fold: secure an ally even by subsidies and by conceding territory; and, conversely, do not lose an ally by cupidity. Natural allies are those who have been so for generations (*e.g.* Britain and Portugal), or the discontented feudatories or the enemies of the enemy (p. 96), and artificial allies (*kṛtrima*) are secured by appeals to their avarice. Of these, natural allies are preferable. It is noteworthy that the shrewd Kauṭilya has no faith in permanent alliances, and regards alliances only as arrangements to get over immediate difficulties [1]. He recommends allies to be closely watched. Refusal to accept payment for help in extricating an ally from internal disorder or an invasion, may cement friendship between two states, and secure similar good service in future to the helpful ally. Contrary to the Dharmaśāstra valuation of the relative uses of alliance, gold, and territory, Kauṭilya holds the first to be the weakest of the gains, since an ally can always be bought by subsidies or territorial concessions.[2]

THE FORTRESS (DURGA)

In ancient warfare, in the absence of explosives and means of attack from the air, such as we now have, a fortress offered real protection. It could only be carried by escalade, as was Asīrgarh in the Central Provinces, on the road between the Dakhan and Hindusthan, or starved into submission. The success with which the fortified town of Bhartpūr withstood a siege by Lord Lake in 1804 furnishes another illustration of the impregnability of such a defence. It is easy to appreciate the value attached by ancient writers to a large fortress, well

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, (first edn.), pp. 287-290.

[2] संहितप्रयाणे मित्रहिरण्यभूमिलाभानामुत्तरोत्तरो लाभः श्रेयान्। मित्रहिरण्ये हि भूमिलाभाद्भवतः मित्रहिरण्यलाभात् यो वा लाभः सिद्धः शेषयोरन्यतरं साधयति। (p. 287).

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supplied with provisions and means of defence, and well-garrisoned, to a kingdom. The walled city and the walled village were common features of India's past. The purpose of such a fortress, according to Yājñavalkya, to safeguard one's people, treasure and person (*jana-kos'ātmaguptaye*). Natural advantages may be made the most of by such a fortress. It may be surrounded by a wide stretch of desert, offering no harbourage to the enemy and no means of concealment to a foe (*dhanva-durga*); it may be built on a high plateau (*mahī-durga*) like Chitorgarh in Rājputāna; it may be strongly protected by mud walls (*mṛd-durga*),[1] like Bharatpūr; it may be protected by impenetrable jungle (*vāṛkṣam*) as mediaeval Bednūr, was in Karnāṭaka; or it may be placed on the top of a hill (*giri-durga*), like Gwalior (Gopādri) and, Devagiri (Daulatabad), or be simply a fortified encampment (*nṛ-durga*). A town on a ridge, surrounded by concentric walls, one within another, like Chitorgarh, offers obvious advantages, which are stressed by Manu (p. 41). Bṛhaspati gives detailed directions for equipping such a fortress to stand a siege. Craftsmen of all kinds, soldiers, cattle, horses as well as elephants, siege engines, and munitions of war and weapons, besides every kind of food, should be kept there. But, true to the beliefs of the age in supernatural agencies affording, when placated, the best of all protection, the king is advised to keep in all such fortresses a number of Brāhmaṇas, learned in the Vedas and maintaining the sacred fire (*Veda-vidyāvido viprān agnihotriṇaḥ*), so that they may perform the various periodical and special sacrifices and ceremonies for the king and subjects. They should be freed from any kind of contribution (p. 41). If a king has a choice of settling where he pleases, he is advised to select a region which is fertile and salubrious, peopled by Āryas, has a docile baronage, and is independent of the fickle seasonal rainfall. But, inaccessibility to the foe is the most important merit to be looked for. When the Rājput states of Hindusthān were overthrown by the Musulmans in the 12th century, the fugitives sought refuge in the deserts of Rājputāna and in the Himālayan fastnesses.

[1] Printed editions of Manu, VII, 70, and Mitramis'ra read महोदुर्गमब्दुर्गं for महीदुगमद्दुर्गं of Lakṣmidhara. *Ab-durga* is described as a fort surrounded by unfathomable water (Medhātithi).

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CONSTRUCTION OF A TOWN

Lakṣmīdhara, like his successors, devotes much space to the rules for constructing a town, and for building in it different types of buildings. The extracts he gives throw light on ancient town planning. The town should be walled all round, and there should be gates and a flag-staff in a central position (p. 42). A scheme of squares, one within another, with streets between, is recommended. In the centre must be the temple. In the square surrounding it, the king's palace with its outhouses should be built, and in the third the house of the chief judge and the courts of law (p. 42). The treasury, the elephant stables, and the arsenal should be to the south of the palace, which should face east. To the north of it *i.e.* to the left of it, should be built the royal kitchen (*mahānasa*), the quarters of the royal chaplain (*purodha*), the minister and the royal physician. The distribution obviously is dictated by convenience, and it is to be found in most old Indian capitals, in which the structures of the pre-Muslim period have survived. Much further advice is given, based partly on mystic beliefs, in the good or bad luck that attends specific locations, and partly on experience. The fortress should not be crowded with unnecessary people (*na bahūnām ato durgam vinā karyām tato bhavet*). Among means of defence it is interesting to note the advice to keep deadly cobras in pots, to be thrown on the attacking enemy (p. 46). Another interesting suggestion is to have various condiments prepared from named ingredients, which have nourishing and hunger resisting properties (pp. 46-47). They were for use in a prolonged siege, during which provisions run short. The erection of temples to divinities, who are named, is recommended. It will procure their protection to the fortress and city. But, the direct line of vision (*driṣṭi*) of some deities can be fatal, while that of others is beneficial. This should guide the location and erection of public and private buildings (pp. 53-54). The interruption of the direct line of vision of some deities, *e.g.* Dēvi, bodes misfortune. No building directly in front of their temples should be built. It is lucky to build the shrines of some deities only at stated parts of the city and inauspicious in others. This is an extention of the old belief in the 'evil eye.' The idea is found in Indian astrology,

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where malefic or beneficial "aspects" (*vīkṣaṇa*) form vital elements in the selection of suitable moments for action. Certain moments represent invisible channels of time, in which one can progress safely and certain others the converse (pp. 55-56). The site chosen should possess good features and mystic virtues. The inspection of the site (*vāstu-parīkṣā*) is an essential preliminary to building on it. The laying of the foundation should be preceded by the worship or the placation of superhuman beings (pp. 58-60). The planting of trees, except in specified places in relation to a residence, may bring bad luck (p. 69), such as loss of wife or children, and, in the case of a king, of subjects (*prajā-hāni*). The first entry into a newly built house or palace should be made at an auspicious moment, and after specified ritual ((*gṛhapraves'a-vidhiḥ*, pp. 70-73). There are definite rules, largely empirical, even for gathering the timber for construction (*dārvāharaṇa-vidhiḥ*, pp. 73-74). The royal flag-staff should conform to specifications (*dhvaja-lakṣaṇam*, pp. 73-76). The antiquity of the tests applied to the selection of sites is shown by the quotation from the ancient *Gṛhya-sūtra* of Ās'valāyana (*Bahvṛca-gṛhya*) reproduced on pp. 76-77, which is typical of what is found in other *gṛhya-sūtras* also. There is, in the rules furnished in the *sūtras*, the mixture of good building knowledge and much mysticism. The Purāṇic extracts, which are quoted, merely summarize and paraphrase what is found in the older *sūtras*. The rules are the same for public or private dwellings and the directions to the king are to be deduced from those to the *Kṣatriya*. The welfare of the king and the state demands attention to the taboos and the prescriptions that are designed to ensure luck. A Dharma digest excludes black magic.

FORCES (DAṆḌA) ✓

The only remaining element of *saptāṅga* is *Daṇḍa*, which is interpreted as *Senā*, armed force. It is so called as with it alone is chastisement (*daṇḍa*) of the enemy or rebels possible. The chapter in which Lakṣmīdhara deals with the armed forces is the shortest in the book. It consists of two verses from the *Mahābhārata*, selected from Bhīṣma's summary of the contents

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of the encyclopaedic treatise composed by Brahmā, which dealt with Rājadharma (*S'āntiparva*, ed. Kumbakonam, ch. 58, sl. 40-41). They indicate two divisions of the forces of the state, open and secret, the first of eight classes and the second of many types. The eight-fold *senā* consists of chariots, elephants, cavalry, infantry, conscripts (*viṣṭi*), navy, intelligence corps (*cārāḥ*) and guides (*des'ikāḥ*). Lakṣmīdhara interprets *viṣṭi* as "compulsorily impressed labour corps" (*balātkāreṇa ākṛṣṭaḥ karmkāriṇaḥ*) and "*des'ikā*" as 'natives'. The last interpretation seems as incorrect as that of the commentator on the *Mahābhārata* (XII, p. 92) who explains it as "teachers who instruct." Neither suits the context. If it means "persons born in the country" it must be "these of the *invaded* country." It is noteworthy that nothing is said about the troops being made up of *kṣatriyas* only. Even *before* the days of Kauṭilya the army was recruited from all castes, and he discusses the relative fighting value of recruits from each *varṇa*[1]. Manu (p. 247) advises the soldiers recruited from the inhabitants of Kurukṣetra, Mātsya, Pancāla, and S'ūrasena (*i.e.*, the area between Thanesar and Muttra) to be placed in the van of battle, as "shock" troops. The ordinary soldier was apparently a salaried servant. Nārada places him in the highest class of paid servants, judged by remuneration.[3] Lakṣmīdhara concurs in the view that even a small army, which is loyal, well-fed and in good spirits, can acquit itself remarkably—"conquer the earth" (*mahīm jayati*)—the implication being that the troops should be well looked after and kept contented and cheerful. Training, proper leadership, and good pay are stressed by Kāmandaka[3] as necessary for military efficiency. He also

[1] 'ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रिय-वैश्य-शूद्रसैन्यानां तेजः प्रधान्यात् पूर्वं पूर्वं श्रेयः सन्नाहयितुम्' इत्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मबलं परोऽभिहारयेत्। प्रहरणविद्याविनीतं तु क्षत्रियबलं श्रेयः, बहुलसारं वा वैश्यशूद्रबलमिति ॥ (९, २., पृ. ३४३)।

[2] भृतकस्त्रिविधो ज्ञेय उत्तमो मध्यमोऽधमः,। शक्तिभक्त्यानुरूपा स्यादेषां कर्माश्रया-भृतिः। उत्तस्त्वायुधीयोऽत्र मध्यमस्तु कृषीवलः। अधमो भारवाहस्स्यादित्येव त्रिविधो-भृतः ॥ (५, २२-२३, पृ. १४५)।

[3] पितृपैतामहो वश्यः संहतो दत्तवेतनः। विख्यातपौरुषो जन्यः कुशलः कुशलैर्वृतः ॥
नानाप्रहरणोपेतो नानायुद्धविशारदः। नानायोधसमाकीर्णो नीराजितहयद्विपः ॥
प्रवासायासदुःखेषु युद्धेषु च कृतश्रमः। अद्वैध्यः क्षत्रियप्रायो दण्डो दण्डविदां मतः ॥
(कामन्दक, ४, ६३, ६५).

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envisages a standing army—*i.e.*, which has served father and grandfather, *pitṛ-paitamaha*.

Operations of War

The directions for the conduct of military operations should follow logically the section on armed forces (*Daṇḍa*), but Lakṣmīdhara treats the subject under the six-fold expedient (*ṣāḍ-guṇya*) and expedients (*upāya*). The procedure is also followed by Mitramis'ra (pp. 328-412). War, considered as one of the six expedients, is technically termed *yāna* (march), but Lakṣmīdhara and Mitramis'ra prefer the term *yātrā* for it. The choice of a suitable time for the expedition is first discussed. Naturally, it will be available only to the power that takes the initiative. It will not be possible in defensive war. The attack is to be directed against the capital of the enemy (*yāyād aripurams'anaiḥ*), which is the ultimate objective of the campaign. The adverb *s'anaiḥ* ('slowly') indicates that the march through hostile territory will be contested and will have necessarily to be slow. The concentration of the resources of a state in a fortified capital makes its capture the decisive act of the campaign. One interpretation of the obscure expression *dvaidhī-bhāva*, which has been explained in different ways,[1] is this, *viz.*, that this concentration of resources and forces should be given up, when a division is rendered necessary by the fear of the enemy encircling the army. The king is advised by Manu (*inf.* p. 114) to commence the campaign in "the auspicous month of *Mārgas'īrṣa*", or 'according to his resources' in the months of *Phālguna* and *Caitra*. He may begin operations in any other month, provided victory is virtually certain owing to the difficulties of the enemy (*vyasane votthite ripoḥ*). The reasons for the advice are thus stated by Medhātithi. "In *Mārgas'īrsa* (December-January) the autumn harvest would have been garnered, and the invader will be cheered by the prospect of having also his spring harvest. The time is good for siege operations. The rivers will then be running low, the ground hard, and there will be no over-growth of jungle through which the army will have to march. The

[1] Cf. Medhātithi on *Manu*, VII, 160 and VII, 167 Kāmandaka, X, 24-27, and Kauṭilya, VII, 1 and 7 (p. 264 and pp. 280-284).

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season will also be neither too hot nor too cold." "At any other season, food grains, though sufficient, will not be diversified in kind and quality, the season of three harvests being far off. Further, at other seasons the enemy can take shelter under a powerful king. This will dissipate the grain stock of both combatants, and the attacking forces will be weakened." "If, however, the invader is only anxious to inflict some injury on the enemy, the expedition is expected to be of short duration and the invading forces are quite strong, the invasion may take place in *Phālguna* or *Caitra* (March-May), especially if the country which is to be attacked is rich in spring harvests. The invader can be sure then of adequate fodder supplies and will also be able to destroy the spring crops in the invaded country."[1] The time chosen must also be suitable to the utilization of the particular part of the army, in which the invader is most strong: infantry and elephants can be used in rains (*padāti-nāga-bahulām senām prāvṛiṣi yojayet*, inf. p. 123). Summer is suitable for the operations of a camel corps (*kharoṣṭra-bahulām senām tathā grīṣme*). Every arm of the forces can be used only in *s'arat* (end of Autumn) and *vasanta* (Spring). Before using any particular section of the army the terrain must be carefully studied. Thus, chariots need hard, level ground. A king who is strong in one arm more than others should select both the route and the time most suitable for its use.

Strategy and tactics are for the trained *Senāpati* (generalissimo). War experience in ancient India had crystallized into certain general principles of military evolution. Fancied resemblance to certain objects or animals gave to each type or formation (*vyūha*) its technical name e.g., the 'needle' (*sūcī*), the 'thunderbolt' (*vajra*), the 'swan' (*hamsa*), the 'lotus' (*padma*), the 'staff' (*daṇḍa*) etc. Their indication, as mere illustrations (*Manu*, VII, 191), suggests that the struggle was to be on both sides conducted according to well-understood principles of strategy. This implies adequate training and discipline, which alone will make it possible for quick changes to be made in formations, and for the habituation of the armies to recognized rules of war. The second aspect is very important in view of the insistence

[1] Trn. (Jha), III, pp. 390-391.

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in Rājadharma on the conduct of the war in accordance with stringent rules, penalizing practices, that were deemed inequitable.

Thus it is lawful to a kingdom which has been invaded to apply the principle of the "scorched earth." It is allowed to lay waste the open country, to destroy standing crops and the bunds of irrigation reservoirs, to flood the country, to pull down fortifications and buildings, which may be useful to the invader, and to burn up grain stores. "The (defending) king shall gather for himself all the corn ; what he cannot take away, he should burn ; all standing crops should be destroyed ; fords and bridges should be destroyed ; water from reservoirs should be let out ; stagnant water, as also wells, should be rendered unfit for drinking ; jungle near the beleaguered fortress should be burnt : the branches of larger trees should be lopped off, if they are beyond the glacis." (p. 125). The aim is to prevent an invader from living off the land, while carrying on a siege, or advance under cover. The same destruction practised by an invader will be another matter, and will not be allowable. A surprise attack at night is permissible, but only to create confusion and panic in the enemy.' (*Manu*, VII, 186). It is forbidden to kill men while[1] asleep (*ib.* VII, 92).

The aim of the expedition (*yātrā*) is to bring the enemy to his knees, but it is allowable to effect it only by 'lawful' methods. Non-combatants cannot be slain. Megasthenes noted that the cultivators, "at the very time when a battle was going on might be seen quietly pursuing their work of ploughing or digging unmolested."[2] But, in the heat of battle, it is difficult to enforce the ethical rules of a military code. In his Thirteenth Rock Edict, As'oka states that in his war against Kalinga, 150,000 were taken prisoners, 100000 persons (apparently combatants) were slain, "and many times as many died." Violence, death and banishment are inevitable," he states in poignant repentance, "even for householders, and ascetics, if a country

[1] Mahābhārata, *Sauptika-parva*, 8.

[2] In explaining '*bhṛs'a-daṇḍastu s'atruṣu*' in *Manu*, VII, 32, Medhātithi explains that the invader should *not* destroy the inhabitants in the invaded kingdom, if it is at all possible to save them : परराष्ट्रवासिनोऽपि राष्ट्रघातकाले यदि शक्यन्ते रक्षितुं तदा न हन्यन्ते । For Megasthenes, see *Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 410.

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hitherto unconquered is conquered."[1] The aged and the sick, women and children, Brāhmaṇas, students, and the outcaste cannot be slain. Nor can persons without weapons or armour, or those who have laid down their arms and surrendered. A prisoner cannot be maltreated. The use of weapons which cause needless pain (liked barbed arrows, which lacerate the flesh), or which are poisoned or of flame-throwers is forbidden.[2] Fugitives cannot be pursued and killed[3] (Āpastamba II, 10. 11).

Kūṭa-yuddha, war by secret and unregenerate methods, is absolutely forbidden in Rājadharma. An open fight is expected. An ambush (*sattraḥ*) comes under *kūṭa-yuddha*. A king can be slain even in battle only by a king. The *Nītis'āstra* allows *kūta-yuddha*. A chapter of the *Kauṭilīya*[4] (X, 3) is devoted to it. Kāmandaka defends it and argues that for the destruction of a foe the use of stratagems is necessary. He holds that it does not violate Dharma (*na hi tirayati dharmam*). He refers with approval to the notorious nocturnal attack made by As'vatthāman on the sleeping Pāṇḍava host, and its destruction when lying unsuspicious of such an unfair attack.[5] Lakṣmīdhara's loyalty to the ancient principles of righteous war (*dharma-yuddha*) is reflected in his omission of authorities sanctioning *kūṭa-yuddha*. Yājñavalkya (I, 323) restricts entry to heaven only to those who fight fair and die in battle doing so. Since a battle is described as a *yajña* (sacrifice), it cannot be

[1] See Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, p. 329. As'oka views the slaughter in the war as *not* characteristic of ' righteous war ' (*dharmavijaya*), which will henceforth be the ideal of his future conquests : येषेच मुखमुते विजये देवनंप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (२०) (Shāhabhazgarhi Text).

[2] न कर्णिभिः न दिग्धैः प्रहरेत् (बौधायन. ध. सू. १, १८, १०) । Cf. *Mahābharaia*, S'āntiparva, 95, 11—नेषुर्लिप्तो न कर्णी स्यात् असतामेतदायुधम् । vide *infra* p. 131. Manu's *Kūṭayuddha* (' concealed weapon ') will include modern ' booby-traps ' and land-mines. Most weapons of modern warfare will be outlawed by Hindu Dharma. Medhātithi (VII, 90) describes the *Karṇika*, as an arrow whose tip or middle is ear-shaped, with keen edges, which makes it difficult to withdraw the arrow, without tearing the flesh, Expanding bullets were once outlawed on similar grounds.

[3] आपस्तंब. धर्म., २, १०, ११, यथा—न्यस्तायुध- प्रकीर्णकेश-प्राञ्जलि-पराङ्मुख-वृत्तानामार्यावधं परिचक्षेत् ।

[4] Bk. X, ch, 3.

[5] कामन्दकीये (१९, ७१) यथा—
सुनियतमुपहन्यात् कूटयुद्धेन शत्रून् न हि तिरयति धर्मं छद्मना शत्रुघातः ।
अचकितमवसुप्तं पाण्डवानामनीकं निशि सुनिशितशस्त्रो द्रोणसूनु र्जघान ॥

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a *Yajña*, if it is waged unfairly. The deterioration of moral standards after the Muslim conquest of India is reflected in the open manner in which the defence of *kūṭa-yuddha* in the *Kāmandakīya* is quoted with approval in Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha's treatise. The use of chivalrous methods in fighting a ruthless enemy, who will not follow them, was a serious handicap to the Rājput dynasties, on whom fell the brunt of the Muslim attack.

Equity and wisdom dictate considerate treatment of a conquered enemy. When a king is overthrown or killed, his state is not to be destroyed, and his kingdom dismembered or annexed. Enemy subjects are immune from maltreatment; for, as Kātyāyana points out, the war was not waged with their sanction (p. 139). A defeated kingdom must be allowed to function as of old, though as a tributary. Its ancient customs and laws must be conserved and left to function as in the past. Compelling a conquered people, on *any* ground, to adopt the laws and customs of the conqueror, is repugnant to both *Dharma* and *Nīti*.[1] Not only do smṛtis like those of Manu (VII, 203), Viṣṇu (3, 42) and Yājñavalkya (I, 342)[2] insist on the equity of preserving the constitution and laws of the conquered kingdom and the conservation of its customs, but on grounds of prudence also, the same injunction is given by Kauṭilya, who goes so far as to advise the conqueror to make himself acceptable to the conquered people by adopting himself their modes of life, customs, dress and language.[3] It may be remembered that this was done by Alexander the Great after the conquest of Persia. The sins of the conquered ruler are not to be visited on his people or state. "Even though the enemy may have been wicked" says Kātyāyana (VM. p. 411), "the conqueror should not destroy his kingdom." After victory, the conqueror is enjoined by Manu (VII, 201) to grant cultivators in the conquered kingdom remissions of taxes, for one or two years, in order that those who had already suffered in the war, might not suffer further.[4] A

[1] शुक्रनीतिसार. ४, ८, ८०१. [2] *inf.* pp. 138-139.

[3] XIII, 5 Modern conquerors have also adopted these methods of conciliation.

[4] मेधातिथि(७, २०१)र्यथा—कुटुबिनां परिहारार्थं स्थितिः यथावृत्त विशिष्टकर-भारशुल्कप्रदेशानां प्रदानेन तथा तया वा संवत्सरमेको द्वयो वा दद्यात्। उच्चानां पौरजानपद-वलानां स्थापयेत्—"तैः यैः स्वाम्यनुरागात् अस्थानमुपचितं तेषामपि आरक्षान्तं यथा स्वं स्वं व्यापारं अनुतिष्ठन्तु" इति।

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general amnesty is to be proclaimed. No one is to be penalized for his loyalty to his king, or, for what we now call "war-guilt." If, after all these gracious acts, the conqueror finds the people still devoted to their old rulers, he should set on the throne a member of the old dynasty. Rājadharma does not sanction the exaction of territorial concessions from a conquered enemy,[1] or of an indemnity to cover the cost of the war. A king is indeed described as making war for getting additional territory, but it clearly signifies supremacy rather than annexation. To compel cessions of territory or to insist on indemnities is akin to *asura-vijaya*, not *dharma-vijaya*.[2] Conquered territory should be gradually evacuated.

BOOTY

It is contrary to Rājadharma to sack a captured town. Booty is defined as only what is taken on the field of battle, and it does not include loot. All booty belongs in theory to the king. The smṛtis state some exceptions to this principle. The old rule of Gautama (I, 20-23)[3] is that the soldier gets the spoils, but chariots and riding animals belong to the king, even if they have been won by a private in single combat. All other booty, goes to the common stock from which the king will make suitable rewards to those who deserve them for their contribution to the victory.[4] In Manu, (VII. 96) the old rule is relaxed in favour of the soldier. He can hold what he has won, if it be chariots, elephants, umbrellas, grain, animals and women. Medhātithi rules that everything else must go to the king, *viz.* arms, conveyances, gold, silver, buildings, cattle etc.[5]

[1] शान्तिपर्वणि, ९६, २०, यथा—

[2] जित्वा न हरति द्रव्यं स नृपः स्वर्गमाश्रितः ।

[3] This is why the king is enjoined to mark the behaviour of his soldiers in battle (*Manu*, VII, 194, *infra* p. 130).

[4] "स्त्वर्ण रूप्य-भूम्यावसकादि राज्ञ एव । एवमर्थं परिगणितम् । आयुधसंवाहनानि राज्ञ एव । धान्यादीनां पृथगुपादानात् धनशब्देन गो-महिष्यादिकमुच्यते । तथा राजधनश्चार्धमिति प्रयुञ्जते" (मेधातिथि, ७, ९६) ।

[5] See W. J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, 1882, I, 120, 160; II, 336-339; IV, 193-212. In 1758 the Crown transferred by letters patent its rights to all plunder taken by their troops and ships to the East India Company. After this was done, the Company of its own accord consented to one half of all such booty (or prize money) being given to the troops with the exception of cannon, military stores and ammunition. The distribution of prize money raised many undignified and acrimonious controversies after every war.

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Even the soldier who gets his share of the booty should voluntarily present a choice object to the king (Manu, VII, 97). These wholesome rules are obviously intended to prevent indiscriminate plunder and such scramble for the spoils of the war, as was to become an ugly feature of the campaigns of the East India Company.

War conducted on the lines laid down by Rājadharma has the great merit of not leaving behind any lasting bitterness among a conquered people or of generating in them a hankering for revenge, such as would lead to another war. Rājadharma wisely recognized that moderation in victory gives the only real assurance of lasting peace. The struggle for supremacy among rulers was not to degenerate into wars of peoples.

Except world opinion, there is no other sanction behind the humane principles of war enunciated by Dharmas'āstra. Violations of the rules of chivalrous war can only be visited by public condemnation. The treacheries in the war, which preceded the accession of Harṣa (608 A.D.) roused universal reprobation[1] In the struggles between the Cālukyas and the Pallavas their respective capitals were burnt down.[2] The harsh and ignominious treatment accorded to the heroic Muñja (Vākpatirāja), after sixteen successful compaigns, by his old foe the Cālukya Tailaapa, roused the indignation and horror of his contemporaries.[3]

Ethics of Violence

War is the last resort of kings. It is not to be started hastily. The injunction to try every means of averting it is due less to the dislike of the evil that it brings in its train to both combatants and to non-combatants than to the uncertainty

[1] Harṣa's brother Rājyavardhana was treacherously assassinated. His sister Rājyas'ri was married to Grahavarman, the Maukhāri king of Kanauj. He was defeated and killed, and Rājyas'ri, was imprisoned with "fetters kissing her feet." See Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*, Ucch. VI, *passim*.

[2] Kānci, the Pallava capital was sacked by the Cālukya Pulakesin II (c. 609 A. D.) Narasimhavarma I. retaliated, and destroyed Vatāpi, the Cālukya capital. (J. F. Fleet. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 1896, p. 328.).

[3] *Ibid*, p. 432. See, Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, which describes Muñja's sufferings (pp. 34-35), and D. C. Gangoly—*History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 1933, pp. 56-61. Muñja, like Belisarius, had to beg his food in the streets, before being put to death,

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of victory for the king who starts the war. The fortunes of war are governed by visible and invisible causes. Precautions may be taken against the former. To avert disaster due to the latter, the only course is to secure superhuman support. While *ahimsā*, aversion to inflict pain, is held up as an ideal of personal conduct, it is recognized that it is impossible to avoid the infliction of pain in the universe as constituted. He who inflicts pain accumulates *duṣ-karma*. Its effects will survive death and pursue him in after-life. Pantheism and the doctrine of the all-pervasive Ātman combine to restrain the disposition to hurt. But infliction of pain is often needed for ultimate relief. A teacher who punishes a refractory pupil causes immediate pain for the reformation and ultimate good of the pupil. The physician causes pain in order to banish it altogether from the patient. The king restrains and punishes wrong-doers, so that they may be purified by punishment, others might take a lesson from their fate and avoid similar wrong-doing, and in order to protect the people.[1] One may hurt an assailant in self-defence, or oppressors of the poor and the helpless.[2] Pain may be caused by carrying out the Vedic injunctions in animal sacrifices. The *himsā* caused in such sacrifices is declared to be *ahimsā*.[3] One may be outraged by the sight of harm done or impending to Brāhmaṇas, cows and women and take up arms to defend them, using violence to resist violence.[4] One may take up arms in defence of his home and country. Lastly, a person may be obliged to fight because he is engaged on a salary to fight for his master, or it may be a matter of duty to him, owing to his *varṇa*. A *kṣatriya* should not die in bed.[5] In every one of these cases, the

[1] *Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana*, 227, 3-5. See Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, *Ahimsā and Asaṅga*, 1941, *passim*.

[2] *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 350, and *Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva*, 14, 89—आततायिनमायान्तं अपि वेदान्तपारगम् । जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयान्न तेन भ्रूणहा भवेत् ।

[3] *Manusmṛti*, v, 44—या वेदविहिता हिंसा नियताऽस्मिन् चराचरे । अहिंसामेव तां विद्यात् वेदाद्धर्मो हि निर्बभौ ।

[4] *Ibid*. X, 62—ब्राह्मणार्थे गवार्थे वा देहत्यागोऽनुपस्कृतः । स्त्रीबालाभ्युपपत्तौ च बाह्यानां सिद्धिकारणम् । Even persons who are out-castes are redeemed by such acts.

[5] *Viṣṇusmṛti*, 3, 44—नास्ति राज्ञां समरे तनुत्यागसदृशो धर्मः । *Mahabharata, Śantiparva*, 97, 23.25—अधर्मः क्षत्रियस्यैष यच्छय्यामरणं भवेत् । विसृजन् श्लेष्मपित्तानि

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violence or pain that is caused is not merely defensible but is positively meritorious. It is the aim of man to overcome sin. Among the many ways of doing so is the performance of the horse-sacrifice (*As'vamedha*). Even a mortal sin like that resulting from the murder of a Brāhmaṇa is destroyed by the performance of the horse-sacrifice. There is Vedic authority for the belief.[1] According to Gautama and Manu, if the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa first confesses his guilt and then bathes in the water in which the king, who has completed the horse sacrifice, has had his lustration, he is freed from his sin.[2] It was a matter of caste prestige for a *kṣatriya* to do the horse sacrifice.[3] It enables a king to gain all his objects, gain all prosperity and win all victories if he performs it. The sacrifice will be ruined if an enemy gets hold of the sacrificial victim, *i.e.*, the horse.[4] Accordingly, only a powerful king can give the needed protection to the animal. Wars must result from the undertaking of this sacrifice.

Again, loyalty to an ally, desire to extend one's dominion, and desire to obtain wealth may induce a ruler to make war.

In all such cases, the test of real *ahimsā* is its practicability. *Ahimsā* becomes synonymous with *needless* infliction of pain.

Once it is conceded that war is justifiable on *varṇa-dharma* or *guṇa-dharma*, it becomes obligatory for combatants to do everything that would ensure success. The zealous exertion of the soldiers, or others who take part in the struggle, is needed for ultimate victory. Doubters must be reassured, slackers stirred up, the timorous heartened up, and assurances of advantages not realizable except through death in battle have to be held out to the fighters. A paid retainer or soldier, who refuses to fight for his master, is guilty of the sin of ingratitude

कृपणं परिदेवयेत् । अविक्षतेन देहेन प्रलयं योऽधिगच्छति । क्षत्रियो नास्ति तत्कर्म प्रशंसन्ति पुराविदः । न गृहे मरणं तात क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते ।

[1] अपि चैतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरत् सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते (तैत्तरीय-संहिता, ५, ३, १२, १, २). See also *Gautama*, 19, 9 and *Vasiṣṭha*, 22, 6.

[2] *Manusmṛti*, XI, 82—शिष्ट्वा वा भूमिदेवानां नरदेवसमागमे । स्वमेनोऽवभृतस्नातो-हयमेधे विमुच्यते ।

[3] Its complexity, difficulty and rarity raised the prestige of the *Kṣatriya* who performed it.

[4] P. V. Kane—*History of Dharmas'āstra*, II, 1941, p. 1233.

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(*kṛtaghnatā*). A *kṣatriya* cannot show his back to the enemy. In the quaint language of Yama (*inf.* p. 130) a *kṣatriya* has the Brāhmaṇa 'on his back,' and he must not expose him to the enemy. There is no higher duty for him than to die in battle. He who fights straight in battle (*akūṭairāyudhaiḥ*) and loses his life in it, goes to heaven, like a Yogi (Yājñavalkya I, 304). The *kṣatriya* who dies in defence of his people wins the same fruit as he who does a horse sacrifice (Devala, *inf.* p. 133). He goes to the heaven of Indra. He dwells there as long as there are particles of dust stained by the blood oozing from his wounds (*inf.* p. 133). There is no death equal in merit to that in battle for kings.[1] The king killed in defence of the property of Brāhmaṇas is the spirit of sacrifice incarnate (*sākṣāt yajñadharmaḥ* p. 134). There is no greater sin for a *kṣatriya* than flying from a battle (Vyāsa, *inf.* p. 134). The soldier who flies from battle takes over all his ruler's sins, when he is killed in flight; and whatever merit he has accumulated till then goes to the king (*Manu*, *inf.* p. 135). Every step taken by one who deserts his king in battle is equal in sin to Brāhmaṇa-slaughter (*Parāśara*, p. 135 *infra*). There is no other way of requiting the king's wages than dying for him in battle (*Ādityapurāna*, *inf.* p. 135). He who dies in battle stands in no need of the usual funeral ceremonies; he communicates no pollution to his relations by his death. Thousands of celestial damsels wait for the hero who dies in battle exclaiming "He will be our husband." The hero who listens unmoved to the tale of woe of a Brāhmaṇa, without going to his rescue, goes to Hell, (*inf.* p. 136).

Such are the exhortations to the soldier to fight to death. Lakṣmīdhara devotes much space to the topic. It is permissible to see in it the reaction to the conditions of his age, when the death struggle with the Muslim invader had begun, and it was vital that every Indian should be stirred up to the patriotic and pious duty of fighting for his king, country, culture and religion, and, if need be, of dying for them. Doubtless such appeals were addressed to soldiers before a campaign or a battle, and powerfully helped recruitment, mobilization and resolute fighting.

[1] In 1250 A.D., Rāwal Chachik of Jaisālmir fearing the ignominy of death by mere age, begged the Langa prince of Multān to give him "the gift of battle (*yuddha-dāna*)" and died in the battle after performing prodigies of valour (H. B. Sarda, *Hindu Superiority*, 1917, p. 53).

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SUPERNATURAL SUPPORT

The army would gain confidence from the knowledge that supernatural agencies had been enlisted by the king in its support. Happiness and suffering in this existence are not wholly due to the actions done in former births, but they affect the disposition, character and instincts of a person in this life. One's actions in this birth, as affected by the *vāsanā*, the mental and moral traits, which constitute his initial equipment in life, may be responsible for his good fortune or bad luck. A wise ruler therefore tries to avert and to correct any tendencies to misfortune or ill-luck by taking precautions governing his own conduct, as well as by expiatory or propitiatory rites prescribed by his spiritual guides. Omens and portents must be carefully studied, partly because they convey warnings to a king not to run risks, and partly to suggest means of propitiation of the offended divinities, whose displeasure bodes misfortune. Lakṣmīdhara deals with such indications with some fulness. The king is also advised to pay heed to the warnings or hopes conveyed by dreams. Knowledge of dream-lore is held essential in normal times and even more in the conduct of war (pp. 116-122). The health and efficiency of the army are ensured by the regular performance of *nīrānjana*, or lustral purification, every year in the month of Ās'vina, and again specially before an army is put on the field. This ceremony is not explicitly advised by Lakṣmīdhara, in the preparations for war, probably because it was a routine observance. Mitramis'ra and later writers deal with the rite very fully. Before the commencement of the march the king should take a 'bath of victory' (*jayābhiṣeka*), which should be followed up by a special *nīrāñjana* and a *ghṛtakambaḷa-s'ānti* (*op.cit.* pp. 340-396). The ritual is described from the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, a work which Lakṣmīdhara often draws upon. An ordinary *pūja* to the gods should follow the victorious termination of the campaign (p. 137), and be accompanied by largesses to Brāhmaṇas.

STANDING RELIGIOUS OBLIGATIONS

Belief in the efficacy of the worship of the gods and of the performance of certain rites is responsible for the indication by

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Lakṣmīdhara of such of them as seemed to him to be important enough to deserve special mention and description. The last seven chapters of his *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* are devoted to them. They are simply reproduced by Mitramis'ra. The Purāṇas inculcate the worship of many deities and the performance of numerous ceremonies. It has to be presumed that Lakṣmīdhara, who has furnished a list of seven of these, felt that they should not be neglected by a king who desired to be prosperous.

1. Devayātrā (Festivals in Honour of Deities)

Certain *tithis, nakṣatras* and months are associated in sacred legends with particular divinities. To worship a deity on such a conjunction is specially efficacious, and the festivities in honour of the deity should *terminate* on that date. The first lunar day is sacred to Brahmā, the second to the goddess of learning, the third to Gaṅgā, the fourth to Vināyaka, the fifth to the Nāgas (serpents), the sixth to Skandha, the seventh to the Sun, the eighth to Rudra with his attendants as well as to Indra, the ninth to Durgā and the Mothers, the tenth to the Earth-goddess, the eleventh to the Creator and to Vis'vakarmā, the twelfth to Viṣṇu, the thirteenth to the God of Love (Kāma), the fourteenth to Kapardin, and the full-moon day to the Vis'vedevas and the Moon-god. All these come in the bright fortnight. In the dark half of the month, the Manes are worshipped on the New Moon, Yama (the god of Death) on the fourth and fourteenth. Every day is auspicious for the worship of the Supreme Being, Nārāyaṇa. The festivities are to last atleast seven days in each case. For each day particular duties in connection with the festival are indicated. These are all annual functions, and they are to take place in the temples concerned in the six months following *Vais'ākha*. They grant lasting prosperity (p. 181). In any kingdom in which these festivals and worship are neglected, the harvests are destroyed by floods or by drought, and famine and pestilence follow. The king's duty is to see that such calamities are averted by insisting on the due performance of the worship of the above gods (p. 181).

2. Kaumudī-Mahotsavam

Kaumudīmahotsava is special festival dedicated to S'iva culminating on the full moon day in the month of *Kārtika*. Its

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special feature is illumination of all houses during the whole month preceding, practice still followed. Animal sacrifice on the days is enjoined for the king, who is to take the lead in organizing and observing the festival.

3. Indra-dhvajocchrāya (Raising a Flag Staff of Indra)

The ceremony consists in the erection of a flag-staff on the eighth day of the bright fortnight in the month of *Bhādra-pada* (August-September), or on the day in which the constellation S'ravaṇa occurs in the bright fortnight of the month of *Ās'vina*. It is a public ceremony to be done by the king himself, with due pomp, attended by his court (p. 189). The erection of this flag-staff and its worship, according to a ritual, which is fully described, destroys all threats to the kingdom (*samasta ghorāṇām nās'anam*) and ensures constant victory (*jayadam*). The staff represents the staff of victory, which Viṣṇu obtained from S'iva. From Him it passed on in succession to Brahmā, Indra, Soma and the patriarch (*Prajāpati*) Dakṣa. From the days of Dakṣa, kings are said to raise this flag-staff. The king who annually erects it becomes the lord of the world and his kingdom never suffers from want of rain (p. 190). Elaborate rules are given in regard to the choice of the tree for the flag-staff. It should be one of seven named kinds, and be absolutely flawless. It should not break or get injured when cut down or transported, as various misfortunes will follow such mishaps, *e.g.* death of the queen. The pole should be crowned with a banner. It should not become a roosting place for inauspicious birds. On the night of its erection, the king and his priests should keep awake to guard it. The staff itself should be worshipped with appropriate Vedic hymns. Lakṣmīdhara's account is extracted from the *Devīpurāṇa*. There is in the *Mahābhārata* an account of the gift of a banner (*dhvaja*) by Indra to king Uparicara of Cedi, of his ceremonious worship of it, displayed on a pole in a special festival, of Indra's pleasure thereon, and his pledge that who-soever celebrated the festival shall be free of all calamities and be assured of victories (*Ādiparva*, 64 36-38). The flag-staff is represented

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there as standing for India. Literary references show that the erection of the pole was the signal for the commencement of popular festivities in a kingdom. Neither Nīlakaṇṭha nor Anantadeva has prescribed the festival, for the good of the state, as Lakṣmīdhara and Mitramis'ra have done.

4. Devīpūja in Navarātri [1]

The nine days beginning with the New Moon in the month of *Kānya* (September-October) are prescribed for *pūjas,* to the three goddesses, Durgā, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī. The *Devipurāṇa* enjoins the worship of *Durgā,* in her aspect as the destroyer of the buffalo-demon (*Mahiṣāsura-mardinī*), on the night of the eighth lunar day. After worship, the king is to decapitate with his sword at midnight a sacrificial animal (*pas'u*), and the blood of the victim is to be offered to the god *Niruti* (p. 194). The night is to be spent in worship of the goddess and the Mothers, and followed up next day by a procession in which the image of the goddess is taken round in a festal car. The sacrifice is prescribed for the attainment of fame, sovereignty, children, longevity and wealth (*yas'o-rājya-putrāyur-dhanam*). This popular S'ākta rite is still celebrated in many parts of India on the night specified, but the victim is now a buffalo.

5. Chihṇa-pūjā (Worship of Emblems)

Another form of worship prescribed for kings, to ensure every form of prosperity to the king and kingdom, is that of the goddess Durgā, in different *pictorial* representation, each of which stands for her in *one* of her aspects. Worshipped as *Umā,* mounted on a lion, she destroys the king's enemies. The same result is attained by worshipping her as *Mahāmāya,* mounted on a monkey. Worshipped as mounted on the bird Garuḍa, she destroys epidemics, and so forth. For convenience, the pictures are to be drawn on banners, which are then to be worshipped.

6. Gavotsarga (Liberation of Cows)

A number of cows, after being decked and worshipped with Vedic *mantras,* are to be marched between two upright poles,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 178-181.

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then tied up and finally let loose. It is to be done on the new moon in the month of *Kārtika* (October-November). Its fruit is relief of the kingdom from the six traditional calamities (*ṣaḍ-ītayaḥ*) *viz.*, excessive rain, failure of rain, rat pest, locust-invasion, birds which eat away unharvested grain, and royal avarice. The last benefit shows that the commendation of the ceremony is even more in the interests of the subjects than of their ruler.

7. Vasordhārā

The last of the rites recommended for kings by Lakṣmīdhara is the *Vasordhārā*. The word means 'stream of wealth,'[1] and refers to a thin stream of some liquid, usually clarified butter, (*ājya*), which is made to trickle slowly and continuously through a minute hole made at the bottom of a metal vessel hung above the fire-pit (*agni-kuṇḍa*). The rite is ancient, and is described in the Vedic Samhitas. In the Vedic ritual the stream of fluid flows from a *sruk* made of *udumbara* wood, which after the ceremony, is thrown into the Fire. The Fire god (Agni) is all-powerful. The object of the rite to secure for the sacrificer all the powers of the god. In the Purāṇas, the rite has been modified. The power in the Fire is described there as due not to Agni but to a more potent deity residing in the Fire. In the passages extracted by Lakṣmidhara, the divinity is described as Devī, who is specially pleased by this form of adoration. She is worshipped as above because she grants *all* wishes (*sarvakāma-pradāyikā*, p. 201). She resides in the Fire (*vahnisthā*). Every deity, approached through the Fire, grants some wish of the sacrificer. It is more so with Devī. In the Purāṇic ritual, which is reproduced in the text, a special building is asked to be erected for the ceremony (p. 203). A fire-pit (*kuṇḍa*), preferably square in shape (*s'ākram*), is to be made in the middle of the hut. The vessel from which the *ghṛta* (clarified butter) is to trickle down should be of gold, silver, or copper. The oily stream should descend neither too fast

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 825-826 for a description of the *Indra-dhvaja* ceremony from the *Kaus'ika-sūtra*. It is often referred to as *Indramakha*. See *Bṛhatsamhita*, ch. 43 for a story of its origin.

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nor too slow. Devī is to be approached by her *mūla-mantra*, and the Fire is to be adored by the *homa* of *mahā-vyāhṛti*. Many deities are to be conceived as then present in the Fire (and latent in Devī). They are to be invoked with appropriate *mantras*. A prayer which is to be addressed to the Fire-god is also furnished (p. 206). The Fire is to be watched as its appearance will indicate the good or bad results that will flow from the ceremony. The effects of the rite may be strengthened by uttering specified special mantras (*e.g. mṛtyumjaya*). The value of the rite is greatest in destroying the enemies of a king (p. 211). But, the rite should not be treated as a substitute for the daily worship of the Fire by the King. All occasions are good for the performance of the rite, *e.g.* the anniversary of the coronation, the birth of a prince, the solstices, eclipses, the appearance of terrifying portents and rites for counteracting adverse planetary influences (*graha-kṛtyopa-s'amane*, p. 211). The benefits accruing to the king who performs the *Vasordhāra* are described with laudatory exaggeration, in a form which will make a powerful appeal to rulers and their advisers. Faith in its all-round power to ward off evils that threaten a king or kingdom is the justification for the inclusion of this comprehensive rite in a compendium meant for the guidance of kings.

The underlying idea in this rite is the response of Indra and the gods to sacrifices in their honour. Kālidāsa expresses the idea prettily.[1] His hero, Dilīpa milked the Earth for the gods, and Indra milked the heavens for their fertilizing showers. From this to the idea of a shower of wealth falling over the head of a royal sacrificer is only a step forward. The trickling of the *ghṛta* on the Fire, which is the universal agent of all the gods, is mimetic. It is a visible *vasordhārā*. The shower of blessings is invisible, but follows on the heels of the sacrifice. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy points to a pictorial representation of the idea in Amarāvatī. A seated emperor (*cakravartin*) is holding up his right arm, and a shower of coins is falling over his head. That is the divine response to the sacrifice.[2]

[1] *Raghuvams'a*, I; 26—दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय सस्याय मघवा दिवम् । संपद्विनिमयेनोभौ दधतुर्भुवनत्रयम् ॥

[2] See his *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in Ancient India*, pp. 68-69.

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S'ākta influences, which had become very powerful in the days of Lakṣmīdhara, substituted Durgā for the Vedic gods, as present in the Fire or approached by offerings poured into the *agni-kuṇḍa*. The appeal of a rite, which promises to avert evil, in a time of peril and anxiety, is more powerful than that of one which offers only positive benefits. The drafts made on the S'ākta Upa-Purāṇas, like the *Devīpurāṇa* and the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, by Lakṣmīdhara, in many parts of his digest, reflect the new spirit.

FREEDOM AND DESTINY: ROYAL ABHAYA

The definition of the scope and inter-relations of Freedom and Destiny, (*Pauruṣa* and *Daiva*) in Rājadharma has a specific aim. It is to infuse into the ruler a feeling of devout submission to God, and to Dharma, which derives its sanction from Him, and at the same time to teach him that only by his own exertion will his own duty, both as a man and as a king, be discharged properly. The magnification of the office and person of the king has two aspects: the exaltation of his position and the intensification of his personal responsibility. It is rank impiety for a ruler to become a fatalist, and allow things to drift. It is both foolish and futile for him to try to shift the burden of government as well as responsibility, to the shoulders of ministers, as the transfer will not relieve him of his personal liability. A king can shift his burden only to a successor. The world is bound by action (*Lokoyam karma-bandhanaḥ*).[1] The sacrifices and religious acts, which propitiate the higher powers, spring from action (*yajñaḥ karmasamudbhavaḥ*).[2] Of all the terrors which living beings dread, starvation is the chief. The first impulse of a living creature is to sustain life by getting food. From hunger springs death.[3] But, in the divinely ordained cycle, food springs from fertilizing showers, rain is the response of the gods to sacrifices made to them. The king is the chief sacrificer. Regal neglect of the pious duty leads to starvation, and all evils

[1] *Bhagavadgīta*, III, 9.

[2] *Ibid*, III, 14—अन्नाद्भवन्ति भूतानि पर्जन्यादन्नसंभवः । यज्ञाद्भवति पर्जन्यो यज्ञः कर्मसमुद्भवः ।

[3] *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, I, 2, 1—अशनाया हि मृत्युः ।

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that spring from it,—disease, disquiet and death. The impulse to action springs from Divinity (*karma brahmodbhava*).[1] It springs also from the good done in past lives. It is revealed in the instincts of the ruler, who models his life on the lines of Dharma. Evil of every kind, anticipated or experienced, infuses fear (*bhaya*). It is the supreme mark of the Divine Being to give all those who make pious submission to His will, an assurance that they will not experience any fear (*a-bhaya*). In iconography the attitude is represented in idols by the representation of the right palm held open, with the fingers tapering upward in what is termed *abhaya-mudrā*. The coronation infuses divinity into the king. His first duty, after *abhiṣeka*, is to grant *abhaya* (assurance of protection from fear) to *all living beings*.[2] (*inf.* p. 12). The fulfilment of this promise is signified immediately by the release of cattle and of a proclamation of the immunity of men and animals from molestation and death. (*ib.* p. 12).

Rakṣā the Corollary of A-bhaya

The comprehensive duty of protection is the logical corollary of the assurance that no living being in the dominions shall experience fear, except of the consequences of its own misdeeds or crimes. Protection is the first—and the last—duty of kings. It includes guarding the subjects from every conceivable harm, objective and subjective, natural and supernatural. It carries the implication of *active* state intervention to secure the aim. Security from invasion and from internal disorder will not cover the whole area of the duty. It is not enough for the state to keep the ring; its action must be positive as well as negative. A king is more than a crowned policeman. He must remove not only the immediate causes of fear among the people, but must strike at the root causes of social misfits and endeavour successfully to remove them. Perpetual vigilance and ceaseless activity are the prices which he must pay for his exalted position. For everything that goes wrong he alone is morally responsible. It is the function of those conversant with Rājadharma to

[1] *Ibid.*, III. 15—कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भवं विद्धि ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवम् ।

[2] अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो संयक् तत्र दधाति च ।

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indicate to the king the ways and means of fulfilling his obligations.

THE KING-IN-COUNCIL

The constitution of a council of ministers and of an organization to carry on the administration (*rāṣtra-saṃgrahaṇam*) of the state are among the means devised to help the king in his all-round duty. It may be noted that every minister or adviser of the king is expected to be conversant with the principles of Dharma and to be imbued with zeal for conducting himself and helping others to conduct themselves in accordance with those principles. The king is brought up in a *milieu* favourable for his reception of Dharma. His education and training are so modelled as to give him an understanding of Dharma and a passion for it. But it is not enough to provide the mental and moral endowment of the king, No one is omniscient (*na hi sarvaḥ sarvaṃ jānāti*). Few, who have to take lone decisions, can be sure that they are not the results of insufficient knowledge and inexperience or of the impulse of the moment. This is the reason for insisting that a king must always consult ministers. He should not deliberate alone (*naiko mantrayet*); nor should he take counsel with many, as then there is danger of his decisions travelling outside the frontiers of his kingdom.[1] The elaborate precautions, which are advised when consultations are held (*inf.* pp. 102-103, are obviously intended to ensure the secrecy of the decisions. In a period of weak international law and of states more are less equal in strength and resources, there is always a danger of war. If war breaks out, he who has the initiative gets a decided advantage. In the social *milieu*, incitement to war always existed. Restriction of kingship to a caste of warriors, whose ideals comprehended the desire not to die in bed[2] and the winning of the supremacy which will enable them to perform the great sacrifices

[1] कच्चिन्मन्त्रयसे नैकः कच्चिन्न बहुभिस्सह । कच्चित्ते मन्त्रितो मन्त्रो राष्ट्रं न परिधावति । (अयोध्याकाण्ड, १००, १८) ।

[2] महाभारते (शान्तिप. ९७, २५) यथा—न गृहे मरणं तात क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते । शौण्डीराणामशौण्डीर्यं अधर्मं कृपणञ्च तत् ॥

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that great conquerors can alone perform (e.g. *As'vamedha*, *Rāja-sūya* etc.), tended to produce, apart from personal bellicosity of kings, and of soldiers, a state of permanent political dis-equilibrium. But the results of an ordeal by battle are not always upto expectation. Avoid war, as victory through it is the violent (*jaghanya*) way of conquest.[1] The harm which wars do are recognized. The temper of the times made it impossible to confine a struggle to two kings. Others will be drawn into it by fear or by interest. The rules of humane conduct and chivalry, imposed by Dharma on the actual combatants, had no restraining influence on those who might *start* a war. The unpreparedness and weakness of a king may disincline him to begin a war, but if they are known to a powerful neighbour, he will begin it. Except in epochs in which large and powerful empires ruled over large areas, formed of many smaller kingships, there was always a danger of war breaking out. The means of preventing wars and of ensuring successful prosecution of wars, with external help, studied empirically, led to the formulation of principles and rules, which, formalized and classified, passed into treatises on Rājadharma and Arthas'āstra. The most valuable part of such knowledge would be secret, and those who possessed it in a high degree would be chosen as royal advisers. The unstable political conditions are reflected in the increasing importance of the minister who advised the king on peace and war (*sāndhivigrahika*). A nice balance of power is indicated when a prime-minister has to take charge of the ministry of foreign affairs.

Upāya, Ṣāḍguṇya and Rājamaṇḍala

The theory of foreign relations of states is concentrated into three topics, which, in accordance with Indian custom, are again crystallized into a specific number for each. Ways and means are indicated by the *upāyas* (policies) and the 'expedients'. The former are four : appeasement or conciliation (*sāma*), subsidising or gifts (*dāna*), sowing discord (*bheda*) and punishment or war (*daṇḍa*). This is the enumeration of Dharma-

[1] शान्तिपर्व, ९४, १, यथा—अयुद्धेनैव विजयं वर्द्धयेद्वसुधाधिपः । जघन्यमाहुर्विजयं युद्धेन च नराधिप ।

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s'āstra. Well applied, says Yājñavalkya (I, 346), they are helpful, and the last, Daṇḍa is to used only if all the other three fail. War is to be the last resort. The *Mitākṣarā* points out that the four expedients are not merely political but are of general applicability in life.[1] Manu (VII, 109) gives the quartette only a political application, and declares that the wise (*paṇḍitāḥ*) regard the first and fourth expedients alone as praiseworthy (*pras'aṃsanti*). The efforts for conciliation must be sincere (*tathyaṃ sāma ca kartavyam*).[2] The Purāṇas, following Nīti-s'āstra, add three more *upāyas*, viz. *upekṣā* (ignoring), *māya* (deceit) and *indrajāla* (terrorization). The three practices are omitted by Lakṣmīdhara, who follows the higher ethics of s'astra, condemning the use of deception and unfair methods. Mitramis'ra takes Daṇḍa to be two-fold and distinguishes between the application of force within and without the kingdom. This misconception of the real sense of Daṇḍa makes him go off at a tangent and bring in a resume of criminal law under the fourth *upāya*!

The concept of the six *guṇas* is also ancient. It is referred to in the *kaccit* chapter (ch. 100) of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, in S'rī Rāma's interrogation of Bharata (sl. 69-70). Manu has a long passage, which Lakṣmīdhara has cited in full without comment: The six are—*sandhi* (agreement for mutual co-operation in war), *vigraha* (hostility), *yāna* (marching troops against the enemy), *āsana* (armed and ready to intervene), *dvaidhībhāva* (explained later on by Manu as division of one's army into two) and *ās'raya* (subordinate alliance with a powerful ruler for help against an enemy). As virtually all neighbours are regarded as potential enemies, if the frontiers of their kingdoms march with one's own, diplomatic activity must be constant to prevent an enemy stealing an advantage. In explaining them, Medhātithi would make them subserve internal development even more than furnish safeguards against foreign aggression." These are, he says[3] the 'six measures of policy;' "and from among these, he shall

[1] एते सामादयो न केवलं राज्यव्यवहारविषयाः, अपि तु सर्वलोकव्यवहारविषयाः। (१, ३४६)।

[2] महाकुलीना ऋजवो धर्मनित्या जितेन्द्रियाः। सामसाध्याः न चातथ्यं तेषु साम प्रयोजयेत्। तथ्यं साम च कर्तव्यम्। (मत्स्यपुराण, वी. मि., पृ. २७९)।

[3] Jha's trn., III, 371.

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have recourse to that one by means of which he feels that he would be enabled to erect fortifications, capture elephants, dig mines, carry on trade, cut down forests, raise embankments around fields in tracts not irrigated by rain, win the wealth of other people, and so forth." If this is the purport of the 'six means,' it has travelled very far from the aims stated by Kauṭilya. That the six were meant to cover all conceivable means of securing state ends, and that they were so interpreted, from time to time and from occasion to occasion, as to make this comprehensiveness possible, may be deduced from the above explanation as well as from the very different interpretations of the terms themselves. Thus, for *dvaidhībhāva*, Manu himself supplies an illustration, *viz.*, division of forces into two, one apparently marching against the enemy while the other remains behind to prevent a rear attack by the neighbour on the other side, who is also a potential foe. But, Medhātithi (VII, 160) interprets the term as putting forward at one and the same time terms of peace and war *i.e.*, an ultimatum (VII, 167). He gives an alternative explanation of *dvaidhībhāva*, in that *s'loka* itself: *dvaidhībhāva* is resorted to by way of favouring divisions of the army, so as to give all divisions of the army equal opportunities of securing booty.

Kāmandaka (XI, 24-27) takes the term to mean double-dealing, and even double-crossing. Carrying on secret negotiations for peace with two foes simultaneously without an intention of keeping the pledge, joining one of the two foes against the other, or, if found out by both enemies, allying himself with a third power against both are his illustrations of *dvaidhībhāva*. Carrying on negotiations for settlement, while arranging for a sudden attack, as Japan did before the attack on Pearl Harbour, will come within this category. It is evident that the original sense of this and other terms had long passed out of recollection, and that their citation in Rājadharma from Manu, without comment, might give the opportunity for interpreting them as suited to circumstances, and cloaking them under Dharma sanction. Whatever is stated in Manu and is intelligible without comment is to be taken as mandatory. The injunction to weigh one's strength against the foe's, from accurate information gained from his intelligence department, is sensible advice to a king. So is

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the exhortation to persist in a course once decided on, in spite of disappointments and set-backs (*inf.* p. 114).

The *Rājamaṇḍala* (circle of kings) is a third ancient concept, which is to be found in the epics and in the most ancient works on Arthaśāstra. It was developed by discussion and several views of its component number are recorded by Kāmandaka (VIII, 16-52). Among writers on polity, whose writings are now lost, Maya stood for a *maṇḍala* of four kings, besides the *vijigīṣu* (the king who wishes to embark on conquest), Puloma for one of six, Uśanas for one of twelve, Bṛhaspati for one of eighteen, Viśālākṣa for one of fifty-four, and lastly Parāśara, for a group composed only the two foes and no others. The followers of Manu are said to stand for a circle of twelve kings, and as each king has five *prakṛtis*, each of whom must count, *viz.*, *durga*, *rāṣtra*, *kośa*, *mantrī* and *bala*, there are sixty *prakṛtis* and twelve kings, making seventy-two in all. This is the *maṇḍala* which Lakṣmīdhara has accepted.[1] The basic ideas of the theory are five. (1) Common frontiers cause constant friction and outbreak of hostilities, making immediate neighbours natural enemies. (2) Common enmity unites against a king his neighbours on opposite sides. (3) One whose boundaries march with those of two opposed kings, is forced into a neutral position (*madhyama*), as his interests are divergent from those of both combatants. (4) It is unwise for a king to advance against an enemy without taking care of his rear, for the protection of which he must leave behind adequate forces, unless he can embroil the neighbour immediately behind him (*pārṣṇigrāha*) with the king further on (*ākranda*). (5) It is rarely possible to secure alliances, other than natural, by treaties which will be observed. The emphasis on the *prakṛtis* implies that the weakness or disloyalty of any one *prakṛti* will cause harm to a belligerent and bring a corresponding gain to his enemy. The elaborate rules for the selection of *prakṛtis* and the devices for constantly watching their conduct suggest that attempts will be made to tamper with their loyalty, either before or after the commencement of hostilities. The prescription of individual consultation with the *prakṛtis*, in place of cabinet discussions, and the repeated injunctions to the king to keep his own counsel till his actions show what he would

[1] As also Kāmandaka.

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be at, point to this possibility also. The *smṛtis* contain warnings against ministers who may succumb to the enemy's blandishments, if they are dishonoured by their own master, and they prescribe measures to test fidelity (*anurāgaparāgau*).[1] Even those who stand nearest a king, such as the Queen, the Yuvarāja, the princes of the blood, the commander-in-chief, and the ministers, burning with suppressed anger, against the king, may prove amenable to the enemy's approaches. But, a king will be ill-advised if he tries to set some of his own men against others, as he will then be ruined even without an enemy to assail him.[2] The policy of "divide and rule" is rejected in Indian polity as fatal to the king who practises it in his own dominions. This is why both Manu and Yājñavalkya advise a king, who wishes to prosper, to act without guile in dealing with his relations and friends (*snigdheṣu ajihmī, suhṛtsu ajihmaḥ*, p. 21 *inf.*) The "friend" is defined by Medhātithi in this context as a zealous and loyal servant or minister. Duplicity will not beget loyalty.

INDIAN THEORY OF THE STATE

Lakṣmīdhara's treatise, like all post-Manu writings, regards monarchy as not only the normal form of government, but as almost the only approved form. The king is at the head of the state. The definition of his powers and privileges indicates what the state is competent to do and not to do. The king is the state and the state is the king. Not only all executive authority, but all executive responsibility, is concentrated in the king. Kingship is a necessary, but not a natural institution. The deterioration of the moral nature of man made a controlling authority necessary to prevent the strong devouring the weak. Dharma furnishes the pre-ordained means of overcoming the downward pull in human action. Organization in *varṇa* and *āśrama*, and in varied functions, for each of which there is its peculiar moral norm (*guṇa-dharma*), arrests human degradation and helps man to overcome the disposition to evil-doing. It is the function of the king, *i.e.* the state, to maintain the norms, in order that society may not dissolve and that the individuals who compose

[1] *inf.* p. 154.
[2] *inf.* p. 128.

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it may succeed in the aims of life (*puruṣārtha*). He discharges the function by the exercise of power (*daṇḍa*) to which every one submits, so long as it is exercised in accordance with Dharma. Every one is under Dharma, including the king and the state. No human being is competent to change the norms set by divine authority. The definition of human activity in accordance with them is the task of Dharmas'āstra. To see that conduct conforms to Dharma is the duty of the king, *i.e.*, the state. Dharma is eternal. It is also immutable and cannot be modified by human agency or even by the gods. It is the sun of a moral universe.

Vis-a-vis Dharma the king (or the state) is only a subordinate. Dharma is king over kings. The power to make laws, which will modify or repeal Dharma, is not vasted in any human authority. The king's edicts (*rājas'āsanam*) may elucidate what is ordained by Dharma, it may supplement it in ways that harmonize with its letter and spirit, but it cannot change it even to the smallest extent.[1] Whatever is specifically enjoined by Dharma is beyond human power to alter. The legislative capacity of the state is restricted to making *rules*, not *laws*, i.e. to subordinate legislation, such as executives are now armed with, for social convenience. To miss any duty, however small, which is enjoined is dereliction, whosoever be the person committing the default. The outlines of Dharma are inflexible. The determination of the extent to which there is freedom to act, within the lines laid by Dharma, is the task of jurisprudents and *s'iṣṭhas*. In this sense the constitution of every ancient Indian state was *rigid*.

But within the limits laid down, there is scope for much individual freedom of action. A person may not change his *varṇa*, but change of occupation was permissible in special circumstances. Inquisition into private activity was restricted to watching social conformity to norms, and police needs. He who fulfilled the duties of his station in life was free. Frontiers of states were not closed. The ascetic, the student, the trader and the pilgrim moved freely from one jurisdiction to another. Large movements of population, necessitated by famine, or oppression, were possible, and some are known to history. One

[1] *Rajadharma*, pp. 132-137 for a discussion of the topic and references.

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method of escaping tyranny that is suggested in the epics is getting beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the power that oppresses. The "freedom" struck foreign observers like Fa Hien (c A.D. 400).[1]

The state was only one of many devices for maintaining the balance of the Universe. The king is not the *sole* upholder of the community. Spiritual authority has to co-operate with the secular. "The king and the Brahman uphold the universe." Society needs economic props; otherwise it crumbles. The Vais'ya and the S'ūdra are no less necessary for social stability than the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya. This is symbolized in the rites of coronation. The *varṇas* are not successive layers, one super-imposed on another, but co-ordinate. In Dharma there is social classification by birth and function, but no stratification. Similarly, the state functions side by side with non-political groups based on kinship, common enterprise, occupation, voluntary organization and propinquity.[2]

The special customs or rules of such organizations have to be allowed and enforced by the state.[3] Even in the domain of personal law, in which the aim is obviously uniformity, the recognition of family custom (*e.g.* cousin marriage) is enjoined.[4]

Civil government being imposed on a society, whose constitution rests on sanctions which are transcendental, has to recognize the claims of spirituality side by side with political and economic activity. Scales of values are different from present day scales. Honour and deference are prized more than affluence, and status is determined by service. The basic assumptions of existence, among which the concept of this life being only a hyphen connecting two eternities is the chief, make it difficult to differentiate between "secular" and "spiritual." They give the acts of the state, as of individuals, an extension beyond one life. The taint of crime is removable by penance and by civil punishment. Rites of propitiation and expiation are brought within the obligatory duties of the state, in consequence

[1] *Travels*, trn., Giles, ch. XVI: "They have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrate or rules. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop."

[2] *Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 46, 63 and 99.

[3] Gautama, XI, 22; Āpastamba, II, 154; Baudhāyana, I, 2-12; Vasiṣṭha, I, 17; and Manu, VII, 11, 18, VII, 203, and VIII, 41. 42, 46.

[4] See the discussion in P. V. Kane's *Vyavahāramayukha* (1926), pp.199-204.

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of these hypotheses. The stress laid on them is an index of the belief in their efficacy. The space devoted in the *Rāja-dharmakāṇḍa* to non-secular acts, which offends a modern sense of proportion, would have appeared to those to whom it was addressed, as only proper. They would have seen lopsidedness only if such topics were dealt with perfunctorily, or were omitted altogether.

In theory, therefore, there was a sense in which the king was sovereign and absolute, and another sense in which he was not. Supreme legislative power, which is now regarded as the mark of sovereignty, the old Indian king did not have. A ruler who attempted to exercise such a power would have provoked more opposition than Akhnaton or Julian, when they ran counter to contemporary opinion and belief. But, in administering the kingdom in accordance with Dharma, there was no constituted authority which could challenge the king's action. As power went with responsibility, the sole responsibility of the ruler made for his independence of any rival authority. In that sense, the ancient Indian king was in *theory* absolute. It would have been also the political *practice*, if the checks provided by society had no power to restrain a self-willed king. But, such power largely accrued to society, which left it open to a ruler to defy Dharma only at his peril. Rājadharma cites instances of rulers, who were removed for tyranny, and Nītiśāstra is even more explicit. If the idea of his divine right went to an autocrat's head, it was corrected by the theory of the divinity innate also in the subject (*prajā-Viṣṇu*).[1] Transgression of duty *may* be visited by condign punishment of the realm, imposed by supernatural powers, which in turn will stir up the people against the ruler. In any case, vicissitudes will be more readily attributed to an erring king, who is unpopular, than to a popular ruler.

In practice, one will look for the checks provided against misuse of regal power in the institutions existing in society. How far could they resist absolutism ?

To take the first *varṇa* first : the Brāhmaṇas formed only a minute part of the population. They were unarmed. By

[1] Caṇḍeśvara's *Rājanītiratnā.*, p. 74. अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं. राज्यं रक्षतु प्रजाः। इति प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं श्रावयेन्मुहुः।

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inclination and training they could not oppose force to force. Unlike the priesthood in mediaeval Europe they were not organized under a common head, did not form a guild, and were not habituated to collective action. Unlike the Church, in Europe, they had no financial backing. Individually and collectively they were poor. Their income was irregular, and did not come from tithes, or payments made regularly to temple priests. Their educational work was done without salary. They were dependant on the patronage of the king himself. They could not intermarry into the royal family and create an aristocracy which could challenge the king. They could not replace the king by one of themselves. Their habituation to non-economic motives would ordinarily deprive them of the ambition to grasp power.[1] They had no more power than the king to make laws or to alter them. But their learning and austere lives will lend their criticisms of regal action much force, while a fasting unto death undertaken by even a single high-minded Brāhmaṇa will create a grave situation for the king. It is to this form of protest, known as *prayopaves'a* that Brāhmaṇas resorted at last when oppression became unbearable. Kalhaṇa, who was a contemporary of Lakṣmīdhara, describes the application of this form of social pressure in Kaṣmīr, and its effectiveness, till it degenerated into a device of habitual revolutionaries. Even then, its popular appeal was so great that special officials were appointed in Kāṣmīr to watch those who threatened to fast as a protest.[2]

The Kṣatriyas were also numerically a small section of the population. They formed the back-bone of the army. The king is warned that a realm in which a *kṣatriya* starves soon faces ruin. They bore arms. Their relations to the ruler were however not feudal. The bulk of them were poor. The potentialities of trouble to an unpopular king were greater from this *varṇa* than from others.

Not only the king, but the whole community depended on the Vais'ya and S'ūdra. Most of the taxes came from the Vais'yas. They were the persons who stood to suffer most from insecurity

[1] Puṣyamitra, though a Brāhmaṇa, was also the first soldier in the kingdom.

[2] *Rājatarangiṇi* was completed in 1149 A.D. See Canto VII, *passim* for instances, and Canto VIII, 428 and 658.

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and invasion of personal and property rights. As Āryas the Vais'yas could not be enslaved, even in war. They were well organized, as were craftsmen also, in guilds, and were disciplined for common, concerted action. Each guild, and the community in each city, had its accredited leaders. Their opposition, or non-cooperation will paralyse even an unbelieving king, whereas the non-cooperation of the Brāhmaṇa, who refuses to help him to placate the gods, will hardly move a ruler who is a sceptic.

The ministers had no constitutional right to implement their advice, against a king, who will not accept it. But, the risk that the king will run from a disgruntled council, is indicated in the weightage given to ministers in the *Rāja-maṇḍala*, in which, in Manu's classification they occupy sixty out of the seventy-two *prakṛti-sthānas*.

An effective brake on the king existed in his own slender resources. His prerogative rights were few and poor. Even the right of the king to treasure-trove was limited to a portion, if the finder was not a Brāhmaṇa. Rights to escheated property were also similarly circumscribed. A king may accept ceremonial presents, but not gifts coming under *dāna*. The description of Manu that "the king is lord of all" is complimentary exaggeration. His right to all the land in the kingdom is denied by *Mīmāmsā*.[1] He is entitled only to one-sixth of the produce from land, and to certain other *fixed* ratios of income and to customs, excise and state monopolies. Agriculture and trade languish under misgovernment, and if they dry up the main sources of the king's income go. As against this, his commitments in expenditure are many and heavy. If he attempts to increase his income by such fiscal exactions as those that S'ankaravarman of Kāsmīr practised (of which Kalhaṇa gives a vivid description)[2] the resulting popular discontent will encourage a neighbour to invade his territory. An empty treasury, a sullen army, an angry priesthood and an enraged people form a combination which will spell ruin to a kingdom, in which these prevail, even on the first impact of invasion. The fear of such intervention must have been more effective in restraining the vagaries of an autocrat than

[1] *S'abara-bhāṣya*, VI, 7, 3; Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays* (1871), I, pp. 320-321; *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, pp. 179-181.
[2] *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, V, 165-181.

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any constitutional machinery, empowered to call his actions into question.

But, the best of all checks is to bring up a king in a manner that will make it unlikely that he will prove blind to the dictates of Dharma and to the promptings of self-interest, which is best safeguarded by scrupulous attention to the beliefs even more than to the real interests of the people. The traditions of conciliar government and of careful recruitment of the ministry and the official hierarchy will effect a great deal, especially when the king is habituated to such methods of administration. But even more effective will be his education in all branches of Dharma, viewed comprehensively as Rājadharma, and the provision of a digest in which Dharma will be expounded in a manner which will make it clear to the people no less than to the ruler, and in which emphasis will be laid just on those features which a king should not miss if he should rise to the level of the ideal ruler, whose every act will reflect the inspiration of the divinity immanent in kingship. This is the task which has been essayed by Lakṣmīdhara.

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॥ श्रीः ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीधरविरचितः

कृत्यकल्पतरुः

राजधर्मकाण्डम्

मङ्गलाचरणम्

ॐ नमो विघ्नराजाय निर्विघ्नफलदायिने ।

न्याय्ये वर्त्मनि यज्जगद्गुणवतां गेहेषु यद्दन्तिनो
राज्ञां मूर्द्धनि यत्पदं व्यरचयद्गोविन्दचन्द्रो नृपः ।
तत्सर्वं खलु यस्य मन्त्रमहिमाश्चर्यं स लक्ष्मीधरः
काण्डे शंसति राजधर्मनिचयानेकादशे पुण्यधीः ॥

प्रतिज्ञा (विषयनिर्देशः)

राजप्रशंसा प्रथममभिषेको गुणास्ततः ।
अमात्या अथ दुर्गाणि वास्तुकर्मविधिस्ततः ॥
राष्ट्रसङ्ग्रहणं कोशो दण्डो मित्रं ततः पुनः ।
राजपुत्राभिरक्षा च मन्त्रः षाड्गुण्यमेव च ॥
यात्राभिषिक्तकृत्यानि देवयात्राविधिस्ततः ।
महोत्सवश्च कौमुद्या ध्वजोच्छ्रायविधिस्ततः ॥
महानवम्यां पूजा च विधिश्चिह्नस्य चाऽप्यथ ।
गवोत्सर्गौ वसोर्धारा पर्वाण्येकादशे क्रमात्[1] ॥

1 I. O., एकादश क्रमात् is wrong as there are 21 Parvas.

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अथ राजप्रशंसा

तत्र मनुः[1]

राजधर्मान् प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावृत्तो भवेन्नृपः ।
सम्भवश्च यथा तस्य सिद्धिश्च परमा यथा ॥

अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वतोऽभिद्रुते भयात् ।
रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत् प्रभुः ॥

इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥

यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥

तपत्यादित्यवच्चैव चक्षूंषि च मनांसि च ।
न चैवं भुवि शक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥

सोऽग्निर्भवतु वायुश्च सोऽर्कः सोमः स धर्मराट् ।
स कुबेरः स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥

नारदः[2]

पञ्च रूपाणि राजानो धारयन्त्यमितौजसः ।
अग्नेरिन्द्रस्य सोमस्य यमस्य धनदस्य च ॥

1 VII, 1, 3–7; cited by वी. मि., p. 10. Compare राजधर्मकौस्तुभ, ch. 32 (pp. 243–248)

2 नार. स्मृ,. (*ed.* Jolly) p. 219 [XVII, 26–31]

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कारणान्निर्निमित्तं वा यदा क्रोधवशं गतः ।
प्रजा दहति भूपालस्तदाऽग्निरभिधीयते ॥

यदा तेजः समालम्ब्येद्धि जिगीषुरुदायुधः ।
अभियाति परान्राजा तदेन्द्रः समुदाहृतः ॥

विगतक्रोधसन्तापो हृष्टरूपो यदा नृपः ।
प्रजानां दर्शनं याति सोम इत्युच्यते तदा ॥

धर्मासनगतः श्रीमान् दण्डं धत्ते यदा नृपः ।
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु तदा वैवस्वतो यमः[1] ॥

यदा त्वर्थिगुरून् प्राज्ञान् भृत्यादीन् पृथिवीपतिः ।
अनुगृह्णाति दानेन तदा धनद उच्यते[2] ॥

मनुः[3]

इन्द्रस्याऽर्कस्य वातस्य यमस्य वरुणस्य च ।
सोमस्याऽग्नेः पृथिव्याश्च तेजोवृत्तं नृपश्चरेत् ॥

वार्षिकांश्चतुरो मासान् यथेन्द्रोऽभिप्रवर्षति ।
तथाऽभिवर्षेत्तद्राष्ट्रं कामैरिन्द्रव्रतं चरन्[4] ॥

अष्टौ मासान् यथादित्यस्तोयं हरति रश्मिभिः ।
तथा हरेत् करं राष्ट्रात् सम्यगर्कव्रतं हि तत् ॥

प्रविश्य सर्वभूतानि यथा चरति मारुतः ।
तथा चारैः प्रवेष्टव्यं व्रतमेतद्धि मारुतम् ॥

1 Jolly, p. 219, reads वैवस्वतः स्मृतः

2 *Ibid.*, तदा स धनदः स्मृतः

3 IX, 303–311; cited by वी. मि., p. 19.

4 S'loka omitted in Udaipur Ms.

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यथा यमः प्रियद्वेष्यौ प्राप्ते काले नियच्छति ।
तथा राज्ञा नियन्तव्यः सर्वस्तद्धि यमव्रतम् ॥
वरुणेन यथा पाशैर्बद्ध एव हि दृश्यते ।
तथा पापान्निगृह्णीयाद्व्रतमेतद्धि वारुणम् ॥
परिपूर्णं यथा चन्द्रं दृष्ट्वा हृष्यन्ति मानवाः ।
तथा प्रकृतयो यस्मिन् स चन्द्रव्रतिको नृपः[1] ॥
प्रतापयुक्तस्तेजस्वी नित्यं स्यात् पापकर्मसु ।
दुष्टसामन्तहिंस्रश्च तदाग्नेयं व्रतं स्मृतम् ॥
यथा सर्वाणि भूतानि धरा धारयते समम् ।
तथा सर्वाणि भूतानि बिभ्रतः पार्थिवं व्रतम् ॥

नारदः[2]

अनादिश्चाऽप्यनन्तश्च द्विपदां पृथिवीपतिः[3] ।
दीप्तत्वाच्च शुचित्वाच्च यद्यसौ न पथश्च्युतः ॥
अशुचिर्वचनाद्यस्य शुचिर्भवति पूरुषः ।
शुचिश्चैवाऽशुचिः सद्यः कथं राजा न दैवतम् ॥
तस्मात्तं नाऽवजानीयान्नाऽऽक्रोशेन्न[4] विशेषयेत् ।
आज्ञायां[5] तस्य तिष्ठेत्तु मृत्युः स्यात्तद्व्यतिक्रमात् ॥

1 वृत्तिको is the Udaipur Ms. reading.

2 XVII, 12 ; वी. मि., p. 21

3 Jolly reads (p. 217) :

अनिर्देश्यावनिन्द्यौ च राजा ब्राह्मण एव च ।
दीप्तिमत्वात् शुचित्वाच्च यदि न स्यात्पथश्च्युतः ॥

4 वी. मि., p. 22, नाक्रोशेन विशेषयेत्

5 वी. मि., p. 22, आज्ञया

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आज्ञा तेजः पार्थिवानां सा च वाचि प्रतिष्ठिता ।
स यद्ब्रूयादसत्सद्वा स धर्मो व्यवहारिणाम् ॥

राजनामा चरत्येष भूमौ साक्षात्सहस्रदृक् ।
न तस्याऽऽज्ञामतिक्रम्य प्रतिष्ठेरन्निमाः प्रजाः ॥

रक्षाधिकारादीशत्वाद्भूतानुग्रहदर्शनात् ।
यदेव कुरुते राजा तत्प्रमाणमिति स्थितिः ॥

निर्गुणोऽपि यथा स्त्रीणां पूज्य एव पतिः सदा ।
प्रजानां निर्गुणोऽप्येवं पूज्य एव नराधिपः ॥

राज्ञामाज्ञाभयाद्यस्मान्न च्यवन्ते पथः प्रजाः ।
व्यवहारस्ततो ज्ञेयः शंसतो राज्यशासनम् ॥

स्थित्यर्थं पृथिवीपालैश्चारित्रविधयः कृताः ।
चरित्रेभ्योऽप्यतः प्राहुर्गरीयो राजशासनम् ॥

तपःक्रीताः प्रजा राज्ञः प्रभुरासां तथा नृपः ।
तस्मात्तद्वचसि स्थेयं वार्त्ता तासां तदाश्रया ॥

'चारित्रविधयः' राजकृता भागादिव्यवस्थाप्रकाराः । 'राजशासनं' राजाज्ञा । 'वार्त्ता' कृषिपशुपाल्यादिवृत्तिः[1] ।

मनुः[2]

बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥

1 A. S. B., पाशुपाल्यादिवृत्तिः
2 VII, 8-13; cited वी. मि., p. 17

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एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्नरं दुरुपसर्पिणम् ।
कुलं दहति राजाग्निः सपशुद्रव्यसञ्चयम् ॥

कार्यं चाऽवेक्ष्य शक्तिं च देशकालौ च तत्वतः ।
कुरुते धर्मसिद्ध्यर्थं विश्वरूपं पुनः पुनः ॥

यस्य प्रसादे पद्मा श्रीर्विजयश्च पराक्रमे ।
मृत्युश्च वसति क्रोधे सर्वतेजोमयो हि सः ॥

तं यस्तु द्वेष्टि सम्मोहात्स विनश्यत्यसंशयम् ।
तस्मात्त्वाशु[1] विनाशाय राजा प्रकुरुते मनः ॥

तस्माद्धर्मं यमिष्टेषु स व्यवस्येन्नराधिपः ।
अनिष्टं चाऽप्यनिष्टेषु तं धर्मं न विचारयेत् ॥

दण्डानुवृत्तौ मनुः[2]

तं देशकालौ शक्तिं च विद्यां चाऽऽवेक्ष्य शक्तितः ।
यथार्हतः सम्प्रणयेन्नरेष्वन्यायवर्त्तिषु ॥

स राजा पुरुषो दण्डः स नेता शासिता च सः ।
चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां च धर्मस्य प्रतिभूः स्मृतः ॥

दण्डः शास्ति प्रजाः सर्वा दण्ड एवाऽभिरक्षति ।
दण्डः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति दण्डं धर्मं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

समीक्ष्य स धृतः सम्यक् सर्वा रञ्जयति प्रजाः ।
असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्तु विनाशयति सर्वतः ॥

1 A. S. B., तस्य त्वाशु ; वी. मि., p. 23, तस्य ह्याशु which is a better reading.

2 VII, 16-19

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राजेत्यनुवृत्तौ गौतमः[1]

तमुपर्यासीनमधस्तादुपासीरन्नन्ये ब्राह्मणेभ्यः । तेऽप्येनं मन्येरन्[2] ।

बृहस्पतिः

बलेन चतुरङ्गेण यतो रञ्जयति प्रजाः ।
दीप्यमानः स वपुषा तेन राजाऽभिधीयते ॥

अङ्गिराः

गुरुवद्येन भूपालः पापं दण्डेन भूयसा ।
संस्करोत्यवनाच्चैव तेनाऽसौ गुरुरुच्यते ॥

'पापं' पापकारिणम् । 'अवनात्' रक्षणात् ।

श्रीरामायणे[3]

नाऽराजके जनपदे योगः क्षेमं प्रवर्त्तते ।
न चाऽप्यराजके सेना शत्रून् विषहते परान् ॥
विपालाश्च यथा गावो यथा चाऽतृणकं वनम् ।

1 11, 7-8

2 'तमेवंगुणसम्पन्नं राजानं उपरि स्थितं नीचैः समीपतः सेवेरन् क्षत्रियादयः । अब्राह्मणा इति वक्तव्ये अन्ये ब्राह्मणेभ्य इति गुणवद्ब्राह्मणोपसङ्ग्रहणार्थं, न तु जातिमात्रस्येति । तमधस्तादासीरन्निति सिद्धे उपरिग्रहणमुत्सवादिष्वपि उपरिभावार्थम् । तेऽपि गुणवन्तो ब्राह्मणा अपि एनमधस्तात्स्थितं मन्येरन् पूजयेयुः आशीर्वादादिभिः लोकपालांश इति इति मत्वा' ॥ (मस्करिभाष्य, p. 178)

3 अयोध्याकाण्ड, sarga 67, sl. 24 ff.

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अजलाश्च यथा नद्यस्तथा राष्ट्रमराजकम् ॥
अन्धं तम इवेदं स्यान्नेह ज्ञायेत किञ्चन ।
राजा चेन्न भवेल्लोके विभजन् साध्वसाधुनी ॥

इति राजप्रशंसा ॥

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२

अथाऽभिषेकः

तत्र ब्रह्मपुराणे[1]

सुतिथौ च सुनक्षत्रे स्नानं नक्षत्रनामकम्[2] ।
मुहूर्ते सुगुणोपेते सर्वोत्पातविवर्जिते ॥
स्थिरे राशौ शुभयुते केन्द्रे चोपचयान्विते ।
काश्मीरायान्तु[3] पार्वत्यां शङ्करात्मा महीपतिः ॥
सर्वलक्षणसंयुक्तस्त्वभिषेच्यो नवस्तदा ।
नगरं तत्र कर्तव्यं पताकाध्वजसङ्कुलम् ॥
नीरजस्कास्तथा कार्या राजमार्गाः शुभैर्जलैः ।
पौरैः स्नातैः सुवस्त्रैश्च भाव्यं मङ्गलपाणिभिः ॥

1 Compare राजधर्मकौस्तुभ-ch. 46, which cites this passage from ब्रह्मपुराण (not found in Ānandāśrama *ed.*) as from कल्पतरु (p. 326)

2 वी. मि., p. 34 : 'सुतिथौ' चतुर्थीनवमीचतुर्दशीभिन्नतिथौ । 'सुन-क्षत्रे' ध्रुवाणि वैष्णवं शाक्रं इत्यादिना विहितनक्षत्रे । 'नक्षत्रनामकं स्नानं' विधाय इति शेषः । 'मुहूर्ते सुगुणोपेत' इत्यनेन गुरुशुक्रास्तादि-रहितशुद्धमासादिरूपः काल उपलक्ष्यते ।

3 A. S. B., कश्मीरायान्तु ; वी. मि., p. 35 comments : तदा पूर्वोक्तकाले नवो महीपतिः 'पार्वत्यां' पर्वतभवायां 'काश्मीरायां' श्रीपर्ण्यां तन्निर्मिते भद्रपीठे उपवेशयेत् इत्यर्थः । अत एव अग्रेऽभिषे-कसम्भारमध्ये श्रीपर्णीपीठमाहृतमस्ति ।

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गन्तव्यं [1]वारमुख्याभिस्तथा राजनिवेशनम् ।
पौरमुख्यैस्तथा [2]वाद्यैर्गुणमुख्यैस्तथैव च ॥
शोभनीयं च नगरं सविलासैश्च नर्तकैः ।
स्नानकाले च कर्तव्यो महाकोलाहलस्तथा ॥
वादित्रशङ्खपुण्याहैः सूतमागधवन्दिभिः ।
सामन्तैर्मन्त्रिभिर्भाव्यं छत्रचामरपाणिभिः ॥
आदौ कृत्वा महाशान्तिं पुण्यां वैनायिकीं शुभाम् ।
ग्रहशान्तिं तथा श्रेष्ठां तृतीयामाहुतिं तथा ॥
पुरोधाः सोपवासश्च श्रुतिस्मृतिसमन्वितः ।
त्रयोदश महामन्त्रान् तर्प्पयेज्जातवेदसि ॥
गणं चैवाऽप्रतिरथं सत्यधर्मगणौ तथा ।
आयुष्यमभयं चैव तथा स्वस्त्ययनं परम् ॥
वैष्णवानथ मन्त्रांश्च तथा पौरन्दरानपि ।
सावित्रब्राह्मरौद्रांश्च वारुणानथ सर्वदा ॥

"ऋताषाडि"ति त्रयोदश महामन्त्राः। 'गणः'[3] "ईदृग-न्या गृहे"त्यादयः । 'अप्रतिरथः' "आशुः शिशान" इति । 'सत्यगणः' "आगात्सत्य"मिति । 'धर्मगणः' "यास्ते अग्ने घोरास्तनुव"इति । 'अभयस्वस्त्ययने' "यत इन्द्र" "स्वस्तिदा"इति ।

1 A. S. B., वरमुख्याभिः
2 वी. मि., p. 43, वाद्यैः
3 वी. मि., p. 44, गणः इदगत्यामहेत्यादयः

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तथा[1]

राजा स्नातः पुनः स्नाप्यः पञ्चगव्येन देववत्[2] ।
मृत्ताम्ररौप्यहेमोत्थैः जलपूर्णैस्ततो घटैः ॥
तोयेन शूद्रैः[3] स्नाप्यश्च पश्चिमां दिशमाश्रितैः ।
ततः क्षीरेण वैश्यैश्च दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितैः ॥
क्षत्रियैश्च ततो दध्ना पूर्वस्यां दिश्यवस्थितैः ।
अमृतेन ततो विप्रैः घृतेनोत्तरतः स्थितैः ॥
पर्वतोत्थमृदा पश्चाद्राज्ञः शोध्यं शिरो द्विजैः ।
वल्मीकमृदया कर्णौ शोधितव्यौ प्रयत्नतः ॥
शक्रस्थानाच्च मृदया ग्रीवा शोध्या च भूभृतः ।
राजवेश्मगृहद्वारमृदया[4] हृदयं तथा ॥
देवालयमृदा पृष्ठं शोध्यं तस्याऽथ राजभिः ।
गजदन्तोद्धृतमृदा दक्षिणस्तु तथा भुजः ॥
शोधनीया शनैर्नासा वृषभशृङ्गलग्नया[5] ।
कटिदेशस्ततो वैश्यैः वेश्याद्वारमृदा तथा ॥
नदीकूलमृदा पार्श्वे शोधितव्ये यथाक्रमम् ।
अश्वशालामृदा शूद्रैः शोध्ये तस्याऽथ जानुनी ॥

1 cf. राजधर्मकौस्तुभ-pp. 328-330, where the passage is reproduced.

2 So वी. मि., p. 44 ; but A. S. B. and I. O. read वेदवत्

3 Udaipur Ms. reads शुद्धैः ; the other reading is followed by वी. मि.

4 Udaipur Ms., गजवेश्यागृहद्वार

5 वी. मि., p. 44, वृषशृङ्गविलग्नया

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गोकुलान्मृदया जङ्घे पादौ च सरसो मृदा ।
सर्वौषधैः सर्वबीजैः गन्धै रत्नैश्च[1] सर्व्वदा ॥
सर्वपुष्पैः सर्वफलैः स्नाप्यो रोचनया तथा ।
अथ भद्रासनगतः सर्वतोयैः सुभास्वरैः[2] ॥
यथाशक्त्या समानीतैः पुरस्कृत्य पुरोहितम् ।
नृपतिस्त्वभिषेक्तव्यो दैवज्ञवचनान्नरैः ॥
ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्वैश्यैः शूद्रमुख्यैस्तथैव च ।
पतिव्रताभिर्नारीभिः पुत्रिणीभिश्च पुत्रवत् ॥
ततः स्नातो विलिप्ताङ्गः कृतदेवाग्नितर्पणः ।
आबद्धमुकुटः स्रग्वी बद्धपट्टो विभूषितः ॥
मङ्गलानां शतं पश्येत्पुण्यमष्टोत्तरं शतम् ।
शान्त्यै प्राधानिके स्थाने सर्वमेतद्यथाक्रमम् ॥
कृत्वा शेषं ततो हुत्वा दद्यात्पूर्णाहुतिं ततः ।
अभिषिक्तस्ततो राजा सम्पूज्याऽऽदौ विनायकम् ॥
ततः क्रमेण देवांश्च ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरान् ।
ग्रहान्नीलं च नागेन्द्रमग्निं विप्रान् पुरोहितम् ॥
देवान् पितॄन् समुद्दिश्य दद्याद्विप्रेषु दक्षिणाम् ।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यः सम्यक् तत्र ददाति च ॥
अथाऽतस्स्थानगान्सर्वान् पशूनपि विमोचयेत् ।
बन्धनस्थानसंस्थांश्च प्रमोचयति शास्त्रवत् ॥
गोब्राह्मणादिहन्तॄंश्च [3]कण्टकान् दारुणानपि ।

1 वी. मि., p. 45, गन्धैरत्नैः (?)
2 वी. मि., p. 45, शुभांबरैः (?)
3 वी. मि., p. 45, पापिष्ठान् for कण्टकान्

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जहाति हस्तिहन्तॄंश्च क्रूरांश्चाऽपि सुशिक्षितान् ॥
व्याघ्रचर्मोत्तरे रम्ये तथा सिंहासने शुभे ।
उपवेश्यो भवेद्राजा स्वयमेव पुरोधसा ॥
सिंहासनस्थः सम्पश्येत्प्रकृतीश्च समागताः ।
छत्रायुधानि सम्पूज्य गणमुख्यांस्तुरङ्गमान् ॥
आरुह्याऽलङ्कृतं नागं विसृजन् धनसञ्चयम् ।
प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य पुरं प्रविश्य च पुनर्गृहम् ॥
सभास्थान् पौरमुख्यांश्च कृत्वा पूजां विसर्जयेत् ।
गतेषु तेषु च धनैस्तर्पयेन्नटनर्तकान् ॥
ब्राह्मणान् भोजयेत्सर्वान् दीनानाथांश्च बान्धवान् ।
ततो महाजनैः सार्द्धं पूर्वराजक्रमादिभिः ॥
आहारं कुरुते राजा राजभृत्यान् विभज्य च[1] ।
आचम्य ताम्बूलमुखो विहरेत ततः क्षणम् ॥
ततः कतिपयैः सार्द्धं अन्तःपुरनिवासिभिः ।
रक्षेत्प्रयत्नादात्मानं[2] भूयो भुङ्क्ते यथासुखम् ॥
अनेनैव विधानेन कुर्याद्वर्धापनं सदा ।
अभिषेकाह्नि यत्नेन प्रतिसंवत्सरं नृपः ॥

श्रीरामायणे[3]

शनैस्तस्मिन् प्रशान्ते तु जनघोषे नराधिपः ।

1 I. O., वा for च ; वी. मि., p. 46, विसृज्य for विभज्य
2 वी. मि., p. 46, रक्षेत् सपत्नात्
3 अयोध्याकाण्डं, sarga 3, sl. 5 ff ; cf. वी. मि., p. 46

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प्रणम्य गुरुमासीनमित्युवाच पुरोहितम् ॥
अभिषेकाय रामस्य यत्कर्म सपरिच्छदम् ।
तदस्य भगवन् सर्वमाज्ञापयितुमर्हसि ॥
तच्छ्रुत्वा भूमिपालस्य वसिष्ठो द्विजसत्तमः ।
आदिदेशाऽग्रतो राज्ञः स्थितान् युक्तान् कृताञ्जलीन् ॥

'युक्तान्' नियोगिपुरुषान्[1] ।

सुवर्णादीनि रत्नानि मणीन् सर्वौषधीरपि ।
शुक्लं च माल्यं लाजांश्च पृथक् च मधुसर्पिषी ॥
अहतानि च वासांसि रथं सर्वायुधानि च ।
सितवर्णं च तुरगं गजं च शुभलक्षणम् ॥
चामरव्यजने चोभे ध्वजं छत्रं च पाण्डुरम् ।
शतं च शातकौम्भानां कुम्भानामग्निवर्चसाम् ॥
हिरण्यशृङ्गं वृषभं समग्रं व्याघ्रचर्म च ।
यच्चाऽन्यत्किञ्चिदेष्टव्यं यच्च किञ्चिन्मनोनुगम् ॥
उपस्थापयत प्रातरग्न्यगारे महीपतेः ।
अन्तःपुरस्य द्वाराणि सर्वस्य नगरस्य च ॥
चन्दनैः स्रग्भिरर्च्यन्तां सुमनोदामभिस्तथा ।
प्रशस्तवस्तुगुणवद्दधिक्षीरोपसेचनम्[2] ॥
द्विजानां शतसाहस्रं सत्प्रकारफलं लभेत् ।

1 Repeated by वी. मि., p. 46 and राजधर्मकौस्तुभ., p. 330
2 I. O., सेवनम् for सेचनम्

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सिद्धमन्त्राद्यसम्भारः[1] प्रत्यूषस्येव कल्प्यताम्[2] ॥

सूर्येऽभ्युदितमात्रे श्वो भविता स्वस्तिवाचनम् ।

ब्राह्मणाश्च निमन्त्र्यन्तां कल्प्यन्तामासनानि च ॥

आज्ञाप्यन्तां[3] पताकाश्च राजमार्गश्च सिच्यताम् ।

सर्वे च नागराश्चैव गणिकाश्च स्वलङ्कृताः ॥

कक्ष्यां[4] द्वितीयामासाद्य तिष्ठन्तु नृपवेश्मनि ।

'कक्ष्यां' प्रकोष्टम्[5] ।

देवायतनचैत्येषु [6]नानाभक्ष्याः सदक्षिणाः ।

उपस्थापयितव्याश्च माल्ययोगाः पृथक् पृथक् ॥

बद्धदीर्घासयो योधाः सन्नद्धा मृष्टवाससः ।

महाराजस्य भवनं प्रविशन्तु महोदयम् ॥

एवमाज्ञाप्य तत्सर्वं कृतमित्यभ्यवेदयत्[7] ।

सुप्रीतमनसे राज्ञे वसिष्ठो हर्षयन् पुनः ॥

तथा

आभिषेचनिकं द्रव्यं सर्वमेवोपकल्पितम् ।

1 I. O., मन्त्राऽथ

2 This line is not found in *Rāmāyaṇa* (Mylapore *edn.*) but this śloka occurs:

सत्कृत्य द्विजमुख्यानां श्वः प्रभाते प्रदीयताम् ।
घृतं दधि च लाजाश्च दक्षिणाश्चाऽपि पुष्कलाः ॥

3 *Rāmāyaṇa* reads आपद्यन्तां

4 राज. कौ., p. 331, 'कक्ष्यां' प्रकोष्ठाम्

5 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 47 and राज. कौस्तु., p. 232

6 *Ibid*, सान्नभक्ष्याः; वी. मि., p. 47, जलभक्ष्याः

7 Missing in printed *Rāmāyaṇa* (Mylapore *edn.*)

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गङ्गायमुनयोश्चैव सङ्गमादाहृतं जलम् ॥
याश्चाऽन्याः सरितः पुण्यास्ताभ्यश्च जलमाहृतम् ।
सर्वबीजानि गन्धाश्च रत्नानि विविधानि च ॥
वाहनं नरसंयुक्तं दर्भाः सुमनसः पयः ।
अहतानि च वासांसि भृङ्गारं च हिरण्मयम् ॥
क्षीरवृक्षप्रवालैश्च पश्चात्फलविमिश्रितैः ।
पूर्णकुम्भाः स्वलङ्कृत्य काञ्चना उपकल्पिताः ॥
रसो गोरोचना चैव लाजा दधि घृतं मधु ।
तथैव पुण्यतीर्थेभ्यो मृदापो जङ्गमानि च[1] ॥
चन्द्रांशुविमले चारुमणिदण्डे स्वलङ्कृते ।
चामरव्यजने श्रीमद्रामार्थमुपकल्पिते ॥
पूर्णेन्दुमण्डलाभं च श्रीमन्माल्यविभूषितम् ।
रामस्य यौवराज्यार्थमातपत्रं प्रकल्पितम् ॥
मत्तो गजवरश्चैव औपवाह्यः प्रतीक्षते ॥

'औपवाह्यः' राजवाह्यः[2] ।

श्वेतश्च तुरगः श्रेष्ठो रामार्थमुपकल्पितः ।
अष्टौ कन्याश्च मङ्गल्याः सर्वाभरणभूषिताः ॥
रूपयौवनसम्पन्ना गणिकाश्च स्वलङ्कृताः ।
श्वेतपुष्पाणि धेनुश्च निस्त्रिंशो धनुरेव च ॥
हेमदाम्ना स्वलङ्कृत्य ककुद्मान् पाण्डुरो वृषः ।

1 'जङ्गमानि' पुण्यपक्षिणः, राज. कौ., p. 332

2 वी. मि., p. 48 ; and राज. कौ., p. 332

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सिंहासनं व्याघ्रचर्म समिद्धश्च हुताशनः ॥
वादित्राणि च सर्वाणि सूतमागधवन्दिनः ।
आचार्या ब्राह्मणा गावः पुण्याश्च मृगपक्षिणः ॥
पौरजानपदाः श्रेणी नैगमानां गणैः सह ।
एते चाऽन्ये च बहवः प्रीयमाणाः प्रियंवदाः ॥

तथा रामं प्रति दशरथवाक्यम्

आदिष्टो ह्यसि मे ज्येष्ठ प्रसूतः सदृशो गुणैः ।
ज्येष्ठायामपि मे पत्न्यां सदृश्यां सदृशः सुतः ॥
उत्पन्नः स्वैर्गुणैर्ज्येष्ठो रामो नामाऽऽत्मजः प्रियः ।
त्वया तात प्रजा ह्येताः स्वगुणैरनुरञ्जिताः ॥
तस्मात्त्वं पुष्ययोगेन यौवराज्यमवाप्स्यसि ॥

तथा

गते पुरोहिते रामस्ततो नियतमानसः ।
सह पत्न्या विशालाक्ष्या नारायणमुपागमत् ॥
प्रगृह्य शिरसा पात्रं हविष्यं विधिवत्ततः ।
महते दैवतायाऽऽज्यं जुहाव ज्वलितेऽनले ॥
शेषं च हविषस्तस्य प्राश्याऽऽशास्याऽऽत्मनिश्चयम् ।
ध्यायन्नारायणं देवं स्थण्डिले कुशसंस्तरे ॥
वाग्यतः सह वैदेह्या भूत्वा च नियतात्मवान् ।
श्रीमत्यायतने विष्णोः शिश्ये नरवरात्मजः ॥
कृतोपवासं रामं तु वैदेह्या सहितं तदा ।
सदर्भायां क्षितौ सुप्तं शुश्राव विधिवज्जनः ॥

इत्यभिषेकविधिः ॥

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अथ राजगुणाः

तत्र शङ्खलिखितौ

राजा दीर्घदर्शी महोत्साहः शक्तिमाननसूयुर्भक्तवत्सलः। त्यागी शरण्यः सर्वभूतानां संविभक्ता सत्यवाक् अमत्सरी गम्भीरोऽमर्षणो बुधस्तेजस्वी प्रतिविधानकुशल अदीर्घसूत्रो दक्षः क्षमावान् लक्ष्यज्ञो देशकालद्रव्यप्रयोगसङ्ग्रहनिमित्तज्ञानकुशलो गूढमन्त्रप्रचारः संवृतरन्ध्रः पररन्ध्रज्ञो दृढप्रहारी लघुहस्तो जितस्थानासनहिमातपो जितरागद्वेषलोभमत्सरः प्रजाभिरामो दीनानुग्रहकर्ता ब्राह्मणेष्वन्नप्रदाता श्रीयशोर्थी।

'दीर्घदर्शी' अनागतकार्यतत्वज्ञः। 'गम्भीरः' अनुपलक्षितक्रोधहर्षाद्याकारः । 'अमर्षणः' परसमृद्धेरसोढा । 'अदीर्घसूत्रः' अचिरक्रियः। 'गूढमन्त्रप्रचारः' फलानुमितमन्त्रतत्वज्ञः। 'सम्वृतरन्ध्रः' रन्ध्रे यत्र परे प्रहरन्ति तदावृतं यस्य। 'प्रजाभिरामः' प्रजानामभिरमयिता।

गौतमः

राजा[1] सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम् । साधुकारी स्यात्साधु-

1 11, 1-6; 'सर्वस्य' विषयवासिनो जनस्य, निग्रहानुग्रहाचारभोगनियोगेषु प्रभुः, निग्रहे अपराधिनां, अनुग्रहेऽनुग्राह्याणां, आचारे मर्यादावस्थाने,

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वादी त्रय्यामान्वीक्षिक्यादिकायां चाऽभिविनीतः शुचिर्जि-
तेन्द्रियो गुणवत्सहायोपायसम्पन्नः समः प्रजासु स्यात् ।
हितं चाऽऽसां प्रकुर्वीत ।

'ईष्टे' अधिपतिर्भवति । 'आन्वीक्षिकी' न्यायविद्या ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः[1]

महोत्साहः स्थूललक्ष्यः कृतज्ञो वृद्धसेवकः ।
विनीतः सत्वसम्पन्नः कुलीनः सत्यवाक्छुचिः ॥
अदीर्घसूत्रः स्मृतिमानक्षुद्रोऽपरुषस्तथा ।
धार्मिकोऽव्यसनश्चैव प्राज्ञः शूरो रहस्यवित् ॥
स्वरन्ध्रगोप्ताऽऽन्वीक्षिक्यां दण्डनीत्यां तथैव च ।
विनीतस्त्वथ वार्तायां त्रय्यां चैव नराधिपः ॥

'महोत्साहः' महोद्यमः । 'स्थूललक्ष्यः' बहुव्ययः[2] ।

भोगे करग्रहणे, नियोगे पुरुषाणां शिष्टकरणे । अस्याऽपवादः—'ब्राह्म-
णवर्जं' ब्राह्मणान् मुक्त्वा इत्यर्थः । अपचारेऽपि सतः सान्त्वपूर्वं एनान्
स्वधर्मे स्थापयेत् , न तु इतरवर्णवत् निग्रहेण । ईशत्वेऽपि सति, 'साधु-
कारी' शास्त्राभिहिताविरुद्धाचरणशीलः । 'साधुवादी' व्यवहारदर्शनकाले
पक्षानाश्रितवादी । यद्यप्यस्य सर्वेशत्वमुक्तम्, तथाऽपि शास्त्रोक्तमर्यादां
च न लङ्घयेत् । 'आन्वीक्षिकी' न्यायविद्या आत्मविद्या वा । 'अभि-
विनीतः' कुशलः । विसमासाद्दण्डनीत्यां च, 'च' शब्दाद्वार्तायां च ।
'शुचिः' अलुब्धः । 'गुणवत्सहायः' गुणवद्भिः विद्याचारित्रादिभिः गुणै-
र्युक्तैः सहायैः मन्त्रिसामन्तदूतादिभिरुपेतः । 'समो' व्यवहारे । 'हितं
चासां' तटाकखननसेतुबन्धनारामादीन् कुर्यात् । 'च' शब्दात् द्यूतमद्या-
दीनि अहितानि निवर्तयेत् । (मस्करिभाष्य, pp. 177–178)

1 या. स्मृ., I, 309–311

2 वी.मि., p.119, repeating मिताक्षरा explains : 'स्थूललक्ष्यः'

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कात्यायनः[1]

विनीतः शास्त्रसम्पन्नः कोशशौर्य्यसमन्वितः ।
ब्रह्मण्यो दानशीलः स्यात्सत्यधर्मपरो नृपः ॥
स्तम्भोपतापपैशुन्यचापलक्रोधवर्जितः ।
प्रगल्भः सन्नतोदग्रः सम्भाषी प्रियदर्शनः ॥
वश्येन्द्रियं जितात्मानं धृतदण्डं विकारिषु ।
परीक्ष्यकारिणं धीरमत्यन्तं श्रीर्निषेवते ॥

'स्तम्भः' पराऽप्रणतिः । 'उपतापो'ऽत्र प्रजापीडनम् । 'पैशुन्यं' परदोषाविष्करणम् । 'प्रगल्भः' अपरिषद्भीरुः[2] ।

विष्णुः[3]

प्रजासुखैः[4] सुखी राजा तद्दुःखैर्यश्च दुःखितः ।

बहुदेयार्थदर्शी । 'वदान्यः स्थूललक्षदानशौण्डा बहुप्रदे' इत्यमरः । 'अक्षुद्रो'ऽसद्गुणद्वेषी । 'अपरुषः' परदोषकीर्तनः । 'रहस्यवित्' गोपनीयार्थगोपनचतुरः । 'विनीतः' तत्तदभिज्ञैः प्रावीण्यं नीतः । (मिताक्षरा) Aparārka explains 'अपरुषः' as अकठोरवाक्, and concludes : त्रयीग्रहणात् व्याकरणाद्यङ्गानि मीमांसापुराणधर्मशास्त्राणि गृह्यन्ते ।

1 Sl. 1–3 [*ed.* Kane] ; वी. मि., p. 120

2 वी. मि., p. 121 reproduces these comments, and adds : 'सन्नतोदग्रः' सत्सु नतः असत्सु अधृष्यः । 'सम्भाषी' स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी ।

3 3, 88 [*ed.* Jolly] ; वी. मि., p. 121, विष्णुरपि राजेत्यनुवृत्तौ— स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी स्यात् वध्येष्वपि न भ्रुकुटिमाचरेत् इति ।

4 Jolly, p. 16, reads प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा

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स कीर्तियुक्तो लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[1]

ब्राह्मणेषु क्षमी स्निग्धेष्वजिह्मी क्रोधितोऽरिषु[2] ।
स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता ॥

मनुः[3]

स्वराष्ट्रे न्यायवृत्तिः[4] स्याद्भृशदण्डश्च शत्रुषु ।
सुहृत्स्वजिह्मः स्निग्धेषु ब्राह्मणेषु क्षमान्वितः ॥
एवं वृत्तस्य नृपतेः शिलोञ्छेनाऽपि जीवतः ।
विस्तार्यते यशो लोके तैलबिन्दुरिवाऽम्भसि ॥

कात्यायनः[5]

आत्मीये संस्थिता धर्मे नृपाः शक्रत्वमाप्नुयुः ।
अवीचिवासिनो ये तु व्यपेताचारिणः सदा ॥
गच्छेत् सम्यगविज्ञाय वशं क्रोधस्य यो नृपः ।
वसेत्स नरके घोरे कल्पार्द्धं तु न संशयः ॥
सुराध्यक्षश्च्युतः स्वर्गान्नृपरूपेण तिष्ठति ।
कर्तव्यं तेन तन्नित्यं येन तत्वं समाप्नुयात् ॥

'व्यपेताचारिणः' अपभ्रष्टाचाराः । 'तत्वं' सुरेशत्वम् ।

इति राजगुणाः ॥

1 I, 334 ; वी. मि., p. 121
2 अपरार्क and मिताक्षरा follow the reading क्रोधनोऽरिषु
3 VII, 32-33; वी. मि., p. 121
4 Printed text reads न्यायवृत्तः
5 Sl. 9, 10, 8, (Kane) ; वी. मि., p. 139

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अथाऽमात्याः

तत्र नराधिप इत्यनुवृत्तौ याज्ञवल्क्यः[1]

सन्मन्त्रिणः[2] प्रकुर्वीत प्राज्ञान् मौलान् स्थिरान् शुचीन्।
तैस्सार्द्धं चिन्तयेद्राज्यं विप्रेणाऽथ ततः स्वयम् ॥

'मौलान्' पितृपैतामहान्। 'शुचीन्' उपधाशुद्धान्[3]।

मनुः[4]

मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूराँल्लब्धलक्ष्यान् कुलोद्गतान्।
सचिवान् सप्त चाऽष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परीक्षितान् ॥

1 I, 312; वी॰ मि॰, p. 177

2 वी. मि., p. 177 gives the reading स मन्त्रिणः but refers to the text reading thus : कल्पतरुणा नराधिप इत्यनुवृत्तौ 'सन्मन्त्रिणः' इति पाठो लिखितः। मिताक्षरा adopts the reading स मन्त्रिणः

3 cf मिताक्षरा–'मौलान्' स्ववंशपरम्परायातान्। 'शुचीन्' धर्मार्थकामभयोपधाशुद्धान्। एवं मन्त्रिणः कृत्वा तैः सार्धं राज्यं सन्धिविग्रहिकादिलक्षणं कार्यं चिन्तयेत् समस्तैः व्यस्तैश्च। अनन्तरं तेषामभिप्रायं ज्ञात्वा सकलशास्त्रार्थविचारकुशलेन 'ब्राह्मणेन' पुरोहितेन सह कार्यं विचिन्त्य ततः स्वयं बुद्ध्या कार्यं चिन्तयेत्।

4 VII, 54-59 ; वी. मि., p. 177

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'लब्धलक्ष्यान्' परिदृष्टकर्म्मणः[1] ।

अपि यत् सुकरं कर्म तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ।
विशेषतोऽसहायेन किमु राज्यं महोदयम् ॥

तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।
समस्तानां च कार्येषु विदध्याद्धितमात्मने ॥

सर्वेषां तु विशेषेण[2] ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।
मन्त्रयेत्परमं मन्त्रं राजा षाड्गुण्यसंयुतम् ॥

नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वस्तः सर्वकार्याणि निक्षिपेत् ।
तेन सार्द्धं विनिश्चित्य ततः कार्यं समाचरेत् ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे[3]

तस्मात् सहायान् वरयेत् कुलीनान्नृपतिस्स्वयम् ।
शूरान् कुलीनजातीयान् बलयुक्तान् श्रियाऽन्वितान् ॥

रूपसत्वगुणोपेतान् सज्जनान्[4] क्षमयाऽन्वितान् ।
क्लेशक्षमान्महोत्साहान् धर्मज्ञांश्च प्रियंवदान् ॥

हितोपदेशकान् राज्ञः[5] स्वामिभक्तान् सुवत्सलान्[6] ।
एवंविधान् सहायांस्तु शुभकर्मसु योजयेत् ॥

1 cf. वी. मि., p. 177

2 वी. मि., p. 178 reads विशिष्टेन for विशेषेण

3 वी. मि., p. 184 ; म. पु. (Ānandāśrama *ed.*) c.215 ś. 3–6

4 *Ibid*, p. 175 संयतान् for सज्जनान्

5 म. पु. , c. 215 , 6 : हितोपदेशकालज्ञान्

6 *Ibid*, श्रियान्वितान् for सुवत्सलान्

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राजगुणानुवृत्तौ कात्यायनः[1]

एतैरेव गुणैर्युक्तं अमात्यं कार्यचिन्तकम् ।
ब्राह्मणं तु प्रकुर्वीत नृपभक्तं कुलोद्गतम् ॥

मन्त्रिणो यत्र सभ्याश्च वैद्याश्च प्रियवादिनः ।
राज्याद्धर्मात्सुखात्तत्र क्षिप्रं हीयेत पार्थिवः ॥

न तस्य वचने कोपमेतेषां तु प्रवर्तयेत् ।
यस्मादेतैः सदा वाच्यं न्याय्यं सुपरिनिष्ठितम् ॥

'मन्त्रिणो' राजकृत्येषु । 'सभ्याः' प्रायश्चित्तादौ । 'वैद्याः' चिकित्सायाम् ।

महाभारते[2]

भृत्या ये तत्र योग्याः स्युः सम्यक् स्थाप्याः परीक्षिताः।
नाऽपरीक्ष्य महीपालः प्रकर्तुं भृत्यमर्हति ॥

तथा[3]

न बालिशा न च क्षुद्राः नाऽप्राज्ञा नाऽजितेन्द्रियाः ।
नाऽकुलीना नराः पार्श्वे स्थाप्या राज्ञा हितैषिणा ॥

साधवः कुलजाः शूरा ज्ञानवन्तोऽनसूयकाः ।
अक्षुद्राः शुचयो दक्षाः स्युर्नराः पारिपार्श्वकाः ॥

परीक्षेत प्रत्यहं भृत्यानाप्तैश्चारैर्नराधिपः ।
समानशीलैर्विस्रब्धैः विवृणोति मनोगतम् ॥

1 Kane, 11-13 ; वी. मि., p. 178

2 वी. मि., p. 175

3 वी. मि., p. 175 ascribes these verses to विष्णुधर्मोत्तर

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मत्स्यपुराणे[1]

कुलीनः शीलसम्पन्नो धनुर्वेदविशारदः ।
हस्तिशिक्षादिशिक्षासु[2] कुशलः श्लक्ष्णभाषिता ॥
निमित्ते शकुनज्ञाने वेत्ता चैव चिकित्सिते ।
कृतज्ञः कर्मणां शूरस्तथा क्लेशसहो ऋजुः ॥
व्यूहतन्त्रविधानज्ञः फल्गुसारविशेषवित् ।
राज्ञा सेनापतिः कार्यो ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियोऽथवा ॥

'व्यूहतन्त्रविधानज्ञः' [3]चक्रदण्डाद्याकारसैन्यसन्निवेशो व्यूहः । तस्य 'तन्त्रं' शास्त्रं, तेन व्यूहप्रकारं यो जानाति ।

प्रांशुः सुरूपो दक्षश्च प्रियवादी न चोद्धतः ।
चित्तग्राही च सर्वेषां प्रतीहारी विधीयते ॥
यथोक्तवादी दूतस्स्याद्देशभाषाविशारदः ।
सूक्तः[4] क्लेशसहो वाग्मी देशकालविभागवित् ॥
विज्ञाय देशं कालं च कृतं यत् स्यान्महीक्षितः[5] ।
वक्ताऽपि तस्य यः काले[6] स दूतो नृपतेर्भवेत् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 179; म. पु., c. 215, sl. 8–47

2 म. पु., I. O. and A. S. B., हस्तिशिक्षाश्वशिक्षासु ; Udaipur Ms., श्लक्ष्णभाषितः

3 वी. मि., 179 has चक्रदण्डगरुडाद्याकारः in par reproducing this comment.

4 म. पु., c. 215, sl. 12, शक्तः for सूक्तः

5 *Ibid*, विज्ञातदेशकालश्च दूतो यः स्यान्महीक्षितः ।

6 *Ibid*, वक्ता नयस्य यः काले

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प्रांशवो व्यायताः[1] शूरा दृढभक्ता निराकुलाः ।
राज्ञा तु रक्षिणः कार्याः सदा क्लेशसहा हिताः ॥
अनाहार्योऽनृशंसश्च दृढभक्तिश्च पार्थिवे ।
ताम्बूलधारी भवति नारी वाऽप्यथ तद्गुणा ॥

'अनाहार्यः' परैरभेद्यः[2] ।

षाड्गुण्यविधितत्त्वज्ञो देशकालविशारदः ।
सान्धिविग्रहिकः कार्यो राज्ञा नयविशारदः ॥

'षड्गुणाः'सन्धिविग्रहयानासनद्वैधीभावसंश्रयाः,तेषां विधेः प्रकारस्य वेत्ता[3] ।

आयव्ययज्ञो लोकज्ञो देशोत्पत्तिविशारदः ।
कृताकृतज्ञो भृत्यानां ज्ञेयः स्यादक्षरक्षिता ॥

'अक्षरक्षिता' अक्षपरिपालकः[4] ।

सुरूपस्तरुणः प्रांशुर्दृढभक्तिः कुलोचितः ।
शूरः क्लेशसहश्चैव खड्गधारी प्रकीर्तितः ॥
शूरश्च बलयुक्तश्च गजाश्वरथकोविदः ।
धनुर्द्धारी भवेद्राज्ञः सर्वक्लेशसहः शुचिः ॥
निमित्तशकुनज्ञान(नी) हयशिक्षाविशारदः ।

1 म. पु., प्रांशवोऽशयनाः
2 वी. मि., p. 181 : 'अनाहार्यः' द्रव्यादिदानद्वारा परैः अभेद्यः
3 Reproduced with slight changes by वी. मि., p. 181
4 *Ibid*, म. पु., c. 215, sl. 17 reads देशरक्षिता

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हयायुर्वेदतत्वज्ञो भूमिभागविशेषवित्[1] ॥

बलाबलज्ञो रथिनः स्थिरदृष्टिः प्रियंवदः ।
शूरश्च कृतविद्यश्च सारथिः परिकीर्तितः ॥

अनाहार्यः शुचिर्दक्षश्चिकित्सितविदांवरः ।
सूपशास्त्रविशेषज्ञः सूदाध्यक्षः प्रशस्यते ॥

सूदशास्त्रविधानज्ञाः पराभेद्याः कुलोद्गताः ।
सर्वे महानसे धार्या नीचकेशनखा नराः[2] ॥

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः ।
विप्रमुख्यः कुलीनश्च धर्माधिकरणो[3] भवेत् ॥

कार्यास्तथाविधास्तत्र द्विजमुख्याः सभासदः ।
सर्वदेशाक्षराभिज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥
लेखकः कथितो राज्ञः सर्वाधिकरणो बुधैः[4] ।
शीर्षोपेतान् सुसम्पूर्णान् समश्रेणिगतान् शुभान्[5] ॥

अक्षरान् वै लिखेद्यस्तु लेखकः स वरः स्मृतः ।
उपायवाक्यकुशलः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥

बह्वर्थवक्ता चाऽल्पेन लेखकः स्यान्नृपोत्तम ।
'[उपायाः' सामदानभेददण्डाः। तेषु वाक्ये च निपुणः।

वाक्याभिप्रायतत्वज्ञो देशकालविभागवित् ।

1 म. पु., c. 215, sl. 20, भुवो भागविचक्षणः

2 म. पु., 215, 23, कृत्तकेशनखा नराः

3 A. S. B. and I. O., करणी; वी. मि., p. 182 and म. पु., adopt the text reading.

4 वी. मि., p. 182 and म. पु., 215, 26 : करणेषु वै

5 म. पु., 215, 26, समान् for शुभान्

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अनाहार्यो नृपे भक्ते लेखकः स्यान्नृपोत्तम[1] ॥]

पुरुषान्तरतत्वज्ञाः प्रांशवश्चाऽप्यलोलुपाः ।
धर्माधिकरणैः कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः[2] ॥

एवं विधास्तथा कार्या राज्ञा दौवारिका जनाः ।
लोहवस्त्राजिनादीनां रत्नानां च विधानवित् ॥

विज्ञाता फल्गुसाराणामनाहार्यः शुचिः सदा ।
[निपुणश्चाऽप्रमत्तश्च धनाध्यक्षः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

आयद्वारेषु सर्वेषु धनाध्यक्षसमा नराः ।
व्ययद्वारेषु च तथा कर्तव्या पृथिवीक्षिता ॥

परम्परागतो यः स्यादष्टाङ्गे तु चिकित्सिते ।
अनाहार्यः स वैद्यः स्याद्धर्मात्मा च कुलोद्गतः ॥

प्राणाचार्यः][3] स विज्ञेयो वचनं तस्य भूभुजा ।
राजन् राज्ञा सदा कार्यं यथा कार्यं पृथग्जनैः ॥

हस्तिशिक्षाविधानज्ञो वनजातिविशारदः ।
क्लेशक्षमस्तथा राज्ञो गजाध्यक्षः प्रशस्यते ॥

एतैरेव गुणैर्युक्तः स्वासनश्च विशेषतः[4] ।
गजारोही नरेन्द्रस्य सर्वकर्मसु शस्यते ॥

'स्वासनो' दृढासनः[5] ।

1 [ ] म. पु., A. S. B. and I. O.

2 म पु., 215, 30, धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः

3 [ ] Lines within asterisks missing in I. O.

4 म. पु., स्थविरश्च for स्वासनश्च

5 I. O. and A. S. B. ; वी. मि., p. 184 further explains : दुष्टगजेनाऽपि चालयितुं अशक्यं आसनं उपवेशनं यस्य सः ।

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हयशिक्षाविधानज्ञश्चिकित्सितविशारदः ।
अश्वाध्यक्षो महीभर्तुः स्वासनश्च प्रशस्यते ॥

अनाहार्यश्च शूरश्च तथा प्राज्ञः कुलोद्गतः ।
दुर्गाध्यक्षः स्मृतो राज्ञ उद्युक्तः सर्वकर्मसु ॥

वास्तुविद्याविधानज्ञो लघुहस्तो जितश्रमः[1] ।
दीर्घदर्शी च शूरश्च स्थपतिः परिकीर्तितः ॥

यन्त्रमुक्ते पाणिमुक्ते अमुक्ते मुक्तधारिते ।
अस्त्राचार्यो निरुद्वेगः कुशलश्च विशिष्यते ॥

'यन्त्रमुक्ते' शरादौ । 'पाणिमुक्ते' शक्त्यादौ । 'अमुक्ते' खड्गादौ । 'मुक्तधारिते' यष्ट्यादौ[2] ।

वृद्धः कुलोद्गतः सूक्तः पितृपैतामहः शुचिः ।
राज्ञामन्तःपुराध्यक्षो विनीतश्च तथेष्यते ॥

पञ्चाशाब्दाधिका योषाः पुरुषाः सप्ततेः परे ।
अन्तःपुरचराः कार्या राज्ञा सर्वेषु कर्मसु[3] ॥

स्थापनाजातितत्त्वज्ञः सततं प्रतिजाग्रतः ।
राज्ञः स्यादायुधागारे दक्षः कर्मसु चोद्यतः ॥

'स्थापना' आयुधयन्त्राणामुचितदेशनिवेशः । 'जातयः' आयुधादीनामवान्तरभेदाः[4] ।

1 I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 184

2 I. O. and A. S. B.; Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 184

3 म. पु., c. 215, 43–एवं सप्ताधिकारेषु पुरुषाः सप्त ते पुरे ।
परीक्ष्य चाधिकार्या स्यू राज्ञा सर्वेषु कर्मसु ॥

4 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 185

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कर्माण्यपरिमेयानि राज्ञो नृपकुलोद्वह ।
उत्तमाधममध्यानि बुध्वा कर्माणि पार्थिवः ॥

उत्तमाधममध्येषु पुरुषेषु नियोजयेत् ।
नरकर्मविपर्यासाद्राजा नाशमवाप्नुयात् ॥

'नरकर्मविपर्यासादि'ति उत्तमे कर्मण्यधमं मध्यमे कर्मण्युत्तमं नियोजयन्नश्यति'[1] ।

नियोगं पौरुषं भक्तिं श्रुतं शौर्यं कुलं नयम् ।
ज्ञात्वा वृत्तिर्विधातव्या पुरुषाणां महीक्षिता ॥

शङ्खलिखितौ[2]

न गृध्नुपरिवारः स्यात्कामं गृध्नू राजा श्रेयान्न सपरिवारः परिवाराद्धि दोषाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति तेऽलं विनाशाय तस्मात्पूर्वमेव तत्परिवारं लिप्सेत ।

श्रुतशीलोपपन्नान् मन्त्रिणोऽभिधाय मनुः[3]

अन्यानपि प्रकुर्वीत शुचीन् प्राज्ञानवस्थितान् ।
आप्तानर्थसमाहर्तॄनमात्यान्सुपरीक्षितान् ॥
निवर्त्तेतास्य यावद्भिरितिकर्तव्यता नृभिः ।
तावतोऽतन्द्रितान् दक्षान् प्रकुर्वीत विचक्षणान् ॥

शङ्खलिखितौ[4]

सर्वेषां राजकुलरक्षणं, कोशपरिपालनं, गोब्राह्मणपरि-

1 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 185

2 वी. मि., p. 185

3 *Ibid* ; म. स्मृ., VII, 60-61.

4 वी. मि., p. 185

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त्राणं, साम्परायिकं, क्रियासाधारणत्वादनुजीविनां विशेषेण चारप्रतिचारौ मन्त्रप्रणिधयश्च सर्पास्तत्प्रयोजनत्वात्प्रत्यक्षा परोक्षा वृत्तिस्तस्य राज्ञो भवेदेकान्ततो हि दोषः, तस्माद्भृत्यपक्षाः क्रोधलोभमानभयदोषोपहताः संलपिता विमानिताभ्याख्याता दानमानस्थानव्यवरोपिता हृतसर्वस्वाः[1] स्वदोषोपहतादयः सततं प्रत्यवेक्षितव्याः। धर्मार्थहितेष्वेतेषां यतेत स्वविषयाश्रावः परविषयभेदः सामादिभिरुपायैः मन्त्रज्ञेषु मन्त्रकर्मकरेषु दण्डकर्मवीराः महत्स्वात्मनि च धर्मनित्याः, सङ्ग्रहेष्वलुब्धाः, प्रत्यन्तेषु मौलाः, शुचयोऽर्थकृत्येषु अन्येषु यथानुरूपं नियोज्याः ॥

'सर्वेषां' अमात्यानाम्। 'सम्परायो' युद्धं तदुपयोगी साम्परायिकम्।'क्रियासाधारणत्वात्' राज्यरक्षणरूपैकक्रियत्वात्। 'चारो' जनपदचरितज्ञानाय प्रच्छन्नचारी। तच्चरितज्ञः प्रच्छन्नः 'प्रतिचारः'। 'मन्त्रप्रणिधयः' राज्ञो मन्त्रान्वेष्टारः। एते परराजसम्बन्धिनः सर्पाः शङ्कनीया इत्यर्थः। 'तत्प्रयोजनत्वात्' यतस्तदेव चरितज्ञानं चारादीनां प्रयोजनम्। 'प्रत्यक्षा वृत्तिः' स्वयं कार्यदर्शनम्। 'परोक्षा' चारैः चरितज्ञानम्। 'एकान्ततः' अन्यतरवृत्तिमात्राश्रयेण। 'भृत्यपक्षाः' भृत्याः। पूर्वं सम्मानिताः पश्चाद्विमानिताः। 'अभ्याख्यानं' आभिमुख्येन गुणाख्यानम्। 'दानमानस्थानव्यवरोपिताः' दानेन व्यवरोपिता मानेन व्यवरोपिताः स्थानेन व्यवरोपिताः। 'स्वदोषोपहताः' आत्मदोषदूषिताः एवमादयः 'सततं प्रत्यवेक्षितव्याः' तेन

1 I. O., रोधितहृतसर्वस्वाः

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कारणेन । 'एतेषां' सम्बन्धिषु धर्मादिषु यतेत । 'स्वविषयाश्रावः' स्वविषयमन्त्रस्याऽश्रावणं अप्रकाशनं कार्यम् । 'महत्सु' कार्येषु 'स्वात्मनि' रक्षितव्याः । 'धर्मनित्या' धार्मिकाः । 'सङ्ग्रहेषु' अर्थस्येति शेषः । 'प्रत्यन्तेषु' स्वमण्डलप्रत्यन्तदेशेषु [1]'मौलाः' तद्देशजाताः[1] ।

विष्णुः[2]

आकर [लवण] शुल्कतरनागवनेष्वाप्तान्नियुञ्जीत । धर्मिष्ठान् धर्मकार्येषु । निपुणानर्थकार्येषु । शूरान् सङ्ग्रामकार्येषु । उग्रानुग्रेषु । षण्ढान् स्त्रीषु[3] ।

मनुः[4]

तेषामर्थे नियुञ्जीत शूरान् दक्षान् कुलोद्गतान् ।
शुचीनाकरकर्मान्ते भीरूनन्तर्निवेशने ॥
सांवत्सरिकमाप्तैश्च[5] राष्ट्रादाहारयेद्बलिम् ।
स्यादाश्रयपरो लोके वर्त्तेत पितृवन्नृषु ॥
अध्यक्षान् विविधान् कुर्यात्तत्र तत्र विपश्चितः ।

1 The entire commentary is reproduced *verbatim*, without acknowledgment by वी. मि., pp. 186-7. The various quotations also in वी. मि., are taken bodily from कल्पतरु

2 वि. स्मृ., 3, 16-21 ; वी. मि., p. 187

3 तरो नौकादिः तज्जं शुल्कं जलजं शुल्कं इति यावत् । 'नागाः' गजाः । नागवन्ति वनानि इति वा । नगः पर्वतः । तत्सम्बन्धि नागम् । गिरिदुर्गमिति वा ॥ (केशववैजयन्ती, Jolly, p. 11, note.)

4 VII, 62

5 VII, 80-81 ; वी. मि., p. 187

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तेऽस्य सर्वाण्यवीक्षेरन्नृणां[1] कार्याणि कुर्वताम् ॥

'साम्वत्सरिकं बलिं' सम्वत्सरग्राह्यं करम्[2] ।

तथा[3]

दूतं चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम् ।
इङ्गिताकारचेष्टज्ञं शुचिं दक्षं कुलोद्गतम् ॥
अनुरक्तः शुचिर्दक्षः स्मृतिमान् देशकालवित् ।
वपुष्मान्वीतभीर्वाग्मी दूतो राज्ञः प्रशस्यते ॥
अमात्ये दण्ड आयत्तो दण्डे वैनयिकी क्रिया ।
नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे तु दूते सन्धिविपर्य्ययौ ॥
दूत एव हि सन्धत्ते भिनत्त्येव च संहतान् ।
दूतस्तत् कुरुते कर्म भिद्यन्ते येन मानवाः ॥
स विद्यादस्य कृत्येषु निगूढेङ्गितचेष्टितैः ।
आकारमिङ्गितं चेष्टां कृत्येषु च चिकीर्षितम् ॥
बुध्वा च सर्वं तत्वेन परराजचिकीर्षितम् ।
तथा प्रयत्नमातिष्ठेद्यथाऽऽत्मानं न पीडयेत् ॥

महाभारते[4]

न तु हन्यान्महीपालो दूतं कस्याञ्चिदापदि ।
दूतहन्ता तु नरकमाविशेत्सचिवैः सह ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 187, Corrects this rightly as अवेक्षेरन्
2 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 187
3 म. स्मृ., VII, 63-69 ; वी. मि., p. 188
4 वी. मि., p. 189

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श्रीरामायणे[1]

दूता न वध्याः प्रवदन्ति सन्तो
दूतस्य दण्डा बहवः प्रदिष्टाः ।
वैरूप्यमङ्गेषु कशाभिघातो
मौण्ड्यं तथा लक्षणसन्निपातः ॥

एतान् हि दूते प्रवदन्ति दण्डान्
दूतस्य दण्डो हि वधो न दृष्टः ॥

इत्यमात्याः ।

अथाऽनुजीविवृत्तम्

तत्र मत्स्यपुराणे

मत्स्य उवाच[2]

यथाऽनुवर्तितव्यं स्यान्मनो राज्ञोऽनुजीविभिः ।
तथा ते कथयिष्यामि निबोध गदतो मम ॥

ज्ञात्वा सर्वात्मना कार्यं स्वशक्त्या रविनन्दन ।
आक्षिप्य[3] वचनं तस्य न वक्तव्यं कदाचन ॥

अनुकूलं प्रियं त्वस्य वक्तव्यं जनसंसदि ।
रहोगतस्य वक्तव्यमप्रियं यद्धितं भवेत् ॥

1 So वी. मि. p. 189, but सुन्दरकाण्ड, 52, 14-15 (Mylapore ed. p. 632) reads, न दूतवध्यां प्रवदन्ति सन्तः
2 I. O, and A. S. B; वी. मि., p. 189, मत्स्य. पु,. cap. 216
3 I. O., आटोप; वी. मि., p. 189, आक्षिप्य

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यथार्थमस्य[1] वक्तव्यं स्वस्थे चेतसि पार्थिव ।
स्वार्थः सुहृद्भिर्वक्तव्यो न स्वयं हि कदाचन ॥
कार्यातिपातः सर्वेषु रक्षितव्यः प्रयत्नतः ।
न च हिंस्याद्धनं किञ्चिन्नियुक्तेन च कर्म्मणि ॥
नोपेक्ष्यं तस्य मानं च तस्य राज्ञः प्रियो भवेत् ।
राज्ञश्च न तथा कार्यं वेषभाषितचेष्टितम् ॥
राजलीला न कर्तव्या तद्विष्टं च विवर्जयेत्[2] ।
अन्तःपुरजनाध्यक्षवैरीभूतैर्निराकृतैः ॥
शंसनं[3] न व्रजेद्राजन् विना पार्थिवशासनम् ।
निःस्नेहतां चाऽवमानं तत्प्रयत्नेन गोपयेत् ॥
यच्च गुह्यं भवेद्राज्ञो न तल्लोके प्रकाशयेत् ।
नृपेण श्रावितं यत्स्याद्गुह्यागुह्यं [4]नृपोत्तम ॥
न तत्संश्रावयेल्लोके[5] तथा राज्ञः प्रियो भवेत् ।
आज्ञाप्यमाने वाऽन्यस्मिन् समुत्थाय त्वरान्वितः ॥
अहं किं करवाणीति वाच्यो राजा विजानता ।
कार्यावस्थां च विज्ञाय कार्यमेतत्तथा भवेत् ॥
सततं क्रियमाणेऽस्मिंल्लाघवं तु भवेद्ध्रुवम् ।

1 म. पु., c. 216, 4 : परार्थमस्य

2 म. पु., has the following additional lines :

राज्ञः समोऽधिको वा कार्यो वेषो विजानता ।
द्यूतादिषु तथैवाऽन्यत् कौशलं तु प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
प्रदर्श्य कौशलं चाऽस्य राजानं तु विशेषयेत् ।

3 म. पु., p. 460, संसर्ग for शंसनं

4 म. पु., वाच्यावाच्यं

5 *Ibid*, यच्च गुह्यं भवेद्राज्ञो

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राज्ञः प्रियाणि वाच्यानि न चाऽत्यर्थं पुनः पुनः ॥
न हास्यशीलस्तु भवेन्न वाऽपि[1] भ्रुकुटीमुखः ।
नाऽतिवक्ता न निर्वक्ता न च मात्सरिकस्तथा ॥
आत्मसम्भावितश्चैव न भवेत्तु कथञ्चन ।
दुष्कृतानि नरेन्द्रस्य न तु सङ्कीर्तयेत्क्वचित् ॥
वस्त्रमस्त्रमलङ्कारं राज्ञा दत्तं तु धारयेत् ।
औदार्येण न तद्देयमन्यस्मै भूतिमिच्छता ॥
न चैवाऽत्यशनं कार्यं दिवास्वप्नं न कारयेत् ।
नाऽनिर्दिष्टे तथा द्वारे प्रविशेत्तु कथञ्चन ॥
न च पश्येत्तु राजानमयोग्यासु च भूमिषु ।
राज्ञस्तु दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे वोपविशेत्तदा ॥
पुरस्ताच्च तथा पश्चादासनं तु विगर्हितम् ।
जृम्भां निष्ठीवनं कासं कोपं पर्यस्तिकाश्रयम् ॥
भ्रुकुटिं वान्तमुद्गारं तत्समीपे विवर्ज्जयेत् ।
स्वयं तत्र न कुर्वीत स्वगुणाख्यापनं बुधः ॥
स्वगुणाख्यापने युक्त्या परमेव प्रयोजयेत् ।
हृदयं निर्मलं कृत्वा परां भक्तिमुपाश्रितैः ॥
अनुजीविगणैर्भाव्यं नित्यं राज्ञामतन्द्रितैः ।
शाठ्यं लौल्यं च पैशुन्यं नास्तिक्यं क्षुद्रता तथा ॥
चापल्यं च परित्याज्यं नित्यं राज्ञोऽनुजीविभिः ।
श्रुतेन विद्याशिल्पैश्च संयोज्याऽऽत्मानमात्मना ॥

1 म. पु., p. 460; I. O. and A. S. B., न चापि; वी. मि., p. 190, न वापि

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राजसेवां ततः कुर्याद्भूतये भूतिवर्द्धनीम् ।
नमस्कार्याः सदा चाऽस्य पुत्रवल्लभमन्त्रिणः ॥

सचिवैश्चाऽस्य विश्वासो न तु कार्यः कथञ्चन ।
अपृष्टश्चाऽस्य न ब्रूयात् कामं ब्रूयात्तथाऽऽपदि ॥

हितं पथ्यं च वचनं हितैः सह सुनिश्चितम् ।
चित्तं चैवाऽस्य विज्ञेयं नित्यमेवाऽनुजीविना ॥

भर्त्तुराराधनं कुर्यात् चित्तज्ञो मानवः सुखम् ।
रागापरागौ चैवाऽस्य विज्ञेयौ भूतिमिच्छता ॥

त्यजेद्विरक्तं नृपतिं रक्ताद्वृत्तिं तु कारयेत् ।
विरक्तः कारयेन्नाशं विपक्षाभ्युदयं तथा ॥

आशावर्द्धनकं कृत्वा फलनाशं करोति च ।
अकोपोऽपि सकोपाभः प्रसन्नोऽपि च निष्फलः ॥

वाक्यं समन्दं वदति वृत्तिच्छेदं करोति च ।
प्रदेशवाक्यैर्मुदितो न सम्भावयतेऽन्यथा ॥

आराधनासु सर्वासु सुप्तवच्च विचेष्टते ।
कथासु दोषं क्षिपति वाक्यभङ्गं करोति च ॥

लज्जतेऽभिमुखश्चैव गुणसङ्कीर्तनेऽपि च ।
दृष्टिं क्षिपत्यथाऽन्यत्र क्रियमाणे च कर्मणि ॥

विरक्तलक्षणं ह्येतच्छृणु रक्तस्य लक्षणम् ।
दृष्ट्वा[1] प्रसन्नो भवति वाक्यं गृह्णाति चाऽऽदरात् ॥

कुशलादिपरिप्रश्नं सम्प्रयच्छति चाऽऽसनम् ।
विविक्तदर्शने चाऽस्य रहस्येनं न शङ्कते ॥

1 म. पु., p. 460 and वी. मि., p. 192, दृष्ट्वा

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[जायते हृष्टवदनः श्रुत्वा तस्य तु सङ्कथाम् ।
अप्रियाण्यपि वाक्यानि तदुक्तान्यभिनन्दते[1] ॥]

उपायनं च गृह्णाति स्तोकमप्यादरात्तथा ।
कथान्तरेषु स्मरति प्रहृष्टवदनस्तथा ॥

इति रक्तस्य कर्तव्या सेवा रविकुलोद्वह ।
आपत्सु न त्यजेत्पूर्वं विरक्तमपि सेवितम् ॥

मित्रं न चापत्सु तथा च भृत्यं
त्यजन्ति ये निर्गुणमप्रमेयम् ।
प्रभुं[2] विशेषेण च ते व्रजन्ति
सुरेन्द्रधामाऽमरबृन्दजुष्टम् ॥

इत्यनुजीविवृत्तम् ॥

1 [ ] I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 192
2 म. पु., p. 461, विभुं for प्रभुं

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अथ दुर्गाणि[1]

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

रम्यं पशव्यमाजीव्यं जाङ्गलं देशमावसेत्।
तत्र दुर्गाणि कुर्वीत जनकोशात्मगुप्तये॥

'पशव्यं' पशुभ्यो हितम्। 'जाङ्गलं' उच्चभूभागप्रायम्[3]।

मनुः[4]

जाङ्गलं सस्यसम्पन्नमार्यप्रायमनाविलम्।
रम्यमानतसामन्तं स्वाजीव्यं देशमावसेत्॥

(P. 334)

मत्स्यपुराणे[5]

वैश्यशूद्रजनप्रायमनाहार्यं तथा परैः।

1 cf. वी. मि., p. 199; राजनी. र., pp. 26–28; राज. कौ., pp. 113–114; नी. म., pp. 77–78

2 I, 321

3 मिताक्षरा :—"यद्यपि अल्पोदकतरुपर्वतोद्देशो जाङ्गलः, तथाऽप्यत्र सजलतरुपर्वतो देशो जाङ्गलशब्देनाऽभिधीयते"।

4 VII, 69.

"अल्पोदकतृणो यस्तु प्रवातः प्रचुरातपः।
स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशो बहुधान्यादिसंयुतः"॥
इति कुल्लूकटीकायाम्।

5 cap. 217, sl. 2 ff; वी. मि., p. 198

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किञ्चिद्ब्राह्मणसंयुक्तं [1]बहुकर्मकरं तथा ॥
अदेवमातृकं रम्यमनुरक्तजनावृतम् ।
करैरपीडितं वाऽपि बहुपुष्पफलं तथा ॥
अगम्यं परचक्राणां तद्वासगृहमापदि ।
समदुःखसुखं राज्ञः सततं च प्रिये स्थितम्[2] ॥
सरीसृपविहीनं च व्यालतस्करवर्जितम्[3] ।
एवंविधं यथालाभं राजा विषयमावसेत् ॥

मनुः[4]

धन्वदुर्गं महीदुर्गं मृद्दुर्गं वार्क्षमेव च ।
नृदुर्गं गिरिदुर्गं च समाश्रित्य वसेत्पुरम्[5] ॥

'धन्वं' मरुभूमिः । 'महीदुर्गं' अतिनिम्नोन्नता भूमिः । 'वार्क्षं' वनदुर्गम् ।

बृहस्पतिः

आत्मदारार्थलोकानां सञ्चितानां च गुप्तये ।
नृपतिः कारयेद्दुर्गं प्राकारद्वारसंयुतम् ॥

1 Udaipur Ms., वद्धकर्मकरं

2 म. पु., p. 461 and वी. मि., p. 198, प्रियमास्थितम्

3 म. पु. , p. 461, व्याघ्रतस्करवर्जितम्

4 VII, 70 ; वी. मि. , p. 202

5 cf. महाभारत ; नी. म. , p. 78 :

धन्वदुर्गं महीदुर्गं गिरिदुर्गं तथैव च ।
मनुष्यदुर्गं मृद्दुर्गं वनदुर्गं च तानि षट् ॥

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मनुः[1]

सर्वेण तु प्रयत्नेन गिरिदुर्गं समाश्रयेत् ।
बाहुगुण्येन तेषां हि गिरिदुर्गं विशिष्यते ॥

तथा[2]

एकः शतं योधयति [3]प्रासादस्थो धनुर्द्धरः ।
शतं शतसहस्राणि तस्माद्दुर्गं विशिष्यते[4] ॥

बृहस्पतिः[5]

भूतानामिन्धनरसैर्वैत्रशष्पान्नवाहनैः ।
यन्त्रायुधैश्च विविधैः स्निग्धैः शूरैर्नरैर्युतम् ॥
वेदविद्याविदो विप्रान् क्षत्रियानग्निहोत्रिणः ।
आहृत्य स्थापयेत्तत्र तेषां वृत्तिं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
अनाच्छेद्याः करास्तेभ्यः प्रदेयाद्गृहभूमयः[6] ।
मुक्ताभाव्याश्च नृपतेर्लेखयित्वा स्वशासने ॥
नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं सदा ।
पौराणां कर्म कुर्युस्ते सन्दिग्धे विनयं तथा ॥
समा निम्नोन्नता वाऽपि यत्र भूमिर्यथाविधा ।

1 VII, 71 ; वी. मि. , p. 203

2 म. स्मृ., VII, 74 ; नी. म., p. 78 explains:–दशगुणा अपि पराभवं प्राप्नुवन्ति इत्यर्थः ।

3 वी. मि., p. 202, प्राकारस्थः ; so राज. कौ., p. 113

4 *Ibid*, विधीयते for विशिष्यते

5 वी. मि., p. 204

6 I. O. and A. S. B., प्रदद्यात् for प्रदेयात् ; so also वी. मि., p. 204

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शालाट्टपरिखाद्याश्च कर्तव्याश्च तथाविधाः ॥
समन्तात्तत्र वेश्मानि कुर्युः प्रकृतयस्ततः ।
द्विजवैश्यवणिक्शिल्पिकारुकारक्षकास्तथा ॥
स्थलावस्थाननिष्काशाश्रमश्वभ्रचतुष्पथान् ।
समाजविक्रयस्थानगोव्रजांश्चैव कल्पयेत् ॥

'सिद्धैः' अनुरक्तैः । 'भूमय' इति विभक्तिव्यत्ययः । आराध्यकरविशेषः ? ।

इति दुर्गाणि ॥

अथ पुरनिर्माणम्

तत्र मत्स्यपुराणे[1]

गोपुरं सकपाटं च तत्र स्यात्सुमनोहरम् ।
सपताकं गजारूढो येन राजा विशेत्पुरम् ॥
चतस्रश्च तथा तत्र कार्याश्चाऽऽपणवीथयः[2] ।
एकस्मिंस्तत्र वीथ्यग्रे देववेश्म भवेद्दृढम् ॥
वीथ्यग्रे च [3]द्वितीये च राजवेश्म विधीयते[4] ।
धर्माधिकरणं कार्यं वीथ्यग्रे च तृतीयके ॥

1 म. पु., c. 217, 9-14 ; cf राज. कौ., pp. 118-125.

2 म. पु., and वी. मि., p. 203, have आयतवीथयः, but all three manuscripts read आपणवीथयः

3 I. O. and A. S. B., द्वितीयेऽत्र ; वी. मि., p. 203 reads द्वितीये च

4 राज. कौ., p. 124, cites this line from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर

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चतुर्थे चैव वीथ्यग्रे गोपुरं तु विधीयते ।
आयतं चतुरस्रं वा वृत्तं वा कारयेत्पुरम् ॥
स्रक्तिहीनं त्रिकोणं च यवमध्यं तथैव च ।
अर्द्धचन्द्रप्रकारं च वज्राकारं च कारयेत् ॥
अर्द्धचन्द्रं प्रशंसन्ति नदीतीरेषु तद्वशात् ।
अन्यत्र तत्र कर्तव्यं प्रयत्नेन विजानता ॥

'गोपुरं' पुरद्वारम् । 'आयतं' दीर्घम् । 'स्रक्तिहीनं' कोणरहितम् ।

बृहस्पतिः[1]

दुर्गमध्ये गृहं कुर्याज्जलवृक्षान्वितं पृथक् ।
प्राग्दिशि प्राङ्मुखीं तस्य लक्षण्यां कल्पयेत्सभाम् ॥
माल्यधूपासवोपेतां वीररत्नसमन्विताम् ।
प्रतिमालेख्यदेवैस्तु युक्तामग्न्यम्बुना तथा ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे[2]

राज्ञा कोशगृहं कार्यं दक्षिणे राजवेश्मनः[3] ।
तस्याऽपि दक्षिणे भागे गजस्थानं विधीयते ॥
गजानां प्राङ्मुखी शाला कर्तव्या वाऽप्युदङ्मुखी ।
आग्नेये च तथा भागे आयुधागारमिष्यते ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 206

2 वी. मि., p. 206 ; म. पु., ch. 217, 15–41

3 These ślokas are attributed to विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण by राज. कौ., p. 124, but they are found in म. पु., c. 217, 15

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महानसं च धर्मज्ञ कर्मशालास्तथा पराः ।
गृहं पुरोधसः कार्यं वामतो राजवेश्मनः ॥
मन्त्रिवेदविदश्चैव चिकित्साकर्त्तुरेव च ।
तत्रैव च तथा भागे कोष्ठागारं विधीयते ॥
गवां स्थानं तथैवाऽत्र तुरगाणां तथैव च ।
उत्तराभिमुखा श्रेणी तुरङ्गाणां विधीयते[1] ॥
प्राङ्मुखी वाऽथ धर्मज्ञ परिशिष्टास्तु गर्हिताः[2] ।
तुरगास्ते तथा धार्याः प्रदीपे सर्वरात्रिकैः ॥
कुक्कुटान्[3] वानरांश्चैव मर्कटांश्च विशेषतः ।
धारयेदश्वशालासु सवत्सां धेनुमेव च ॥
अजाश्च धार्या यत्नेन तुरगाणां हितैषिणा ।
गोगजाश्वादिशालासु तत्पुरीषस्य निर्गमः ॥
अस्तङ्गते न कर्तव्या देवदेवे दिवाकरे ।
ततस्तत्र यथास्थानं राजा विज्ञाय सारथीन् ॥
दद्यादावसथस्थानं सर्वेषामनुपूर्वशः ।
योधानां शिल्पिनां चैव सर्वेषामविशेषतः ॥

1 I. O. and A. S. B. read तथैव च, but the text is confirmed by वी. मि. p. 206 and राज. कौ., p. 125

2 म. पु., p. 426 and वी. मि., p. 207: दक्षिणाभिमुखा वाथ परिशिष्टास्तु गर्हिताः ।

3 वी. मि., p. 207 explains : मन्दुरास्थाश्वानां दृष्टिदोषनिरासाय कुक्कुटादिस्थापनमुक्तम् । Kautilya gives a better reason: viz. prevention of fire and poisonous serpents by these animals (अर्थ. शा., Mysore *edn.* p. 40 and p. 132)

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दद्यादावसथान् दुर्गे मन्त्रकालविदां शुभान् ।
गोवैद्यानश्ववैद्यांश्च गजवैद्यांस्तथैव च ॥

आहरेत भृशं राजा दुर्गे हि प्रबला रुजः ।
कुशीलवानां विप्राणां दुर्गे स्थानं विधीयते ॥

न बहूनामतो दुर्गं विना कार्यं तथा भवेत् ।
दुर्गे च यन्त्राः कर्तव्या नानाप्रहरणान्विताः ॥

सहस्रघातिनो राज्ञा तैस्तु रक्षा विधीयते ।
दुर्गे द्वाराणि गुप्तानि कार्याण्यपि च भूभुजा ॥

सञ्चयश्चाऽत्र सर्वेषामायुधानां प्रशस्यते ।
धनुषां क्षेपणीयानां तोमराणां च पार्थिव ॥

शराणामथ खड्गानां कवचानां तथैव च ।
लगुडानां गुडानां च हुडानां परिघैः सह ॥

अश्मनां च प्रभूतानां मुद्गराणां तथैव च ।
त्रिशूलानां पट्टिशानां कणपानां च पार्थिव ॥

प्रासानां च सशूलानां शक्तीनां च नरोत्तम ।
परश्वधानां चक्राणां वर्मणां चर्मभिः सह ॥

कुद्दालरज्जुवेत्राणां पिटकानां तथैव च ।
हिंसकानां[1] च दात्राणामङ्गाराणां च सञ्चयाः ॥

सर्वेषां शिल्पिभाण्डानां सञ्चयश्चाऽत्र शिष्यते ।
वादित्राणां च सर्व्वेषामोषधीनां तथैव च ॥

यवसानां प्रभूतानामिन्धनस्य च सञ्चयः ।
गुडस्य सर्वतैलानां गोरसानां तथैव च ॥

1 म. पु., p. 462, तुषाणां चैव दात्राणाम्

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वसानामथ मज्ज्ञानां स्नायूनामस्थिभिः सह ।
गोचर्मपटहानां च धान्यानां सर्वतस्तथा ॥

तथैवाऽभ्रपटानां च यवगोधूमयोरपि ।
रत्नानां सर्ववस्त्राणां लोहानामप्यशेषतः ॥

कलायमुद्गमाषाणां चणकानां तिलैः सह ।
तथा च सर्वसस्यानां पांसुगोमययोरपि ॥

शणसर्जुरसम्पूर्ण[1] जतुलाक्षा च टङ्कणम् ।
राजा सञ्चिनुयाद्दुर्गे यच्चाऽन्यदपि किञ्चन ॥

कुम्भेष्वाशीविषाः कार्याः व्यालसिंहादयस्तथा ।
मृगाश्च पक्षिणश्चैव रक्ष्यास्ते च परस्परम् ॥

स्थानानि च विरुद्धानां सुगुप्तानि पृथक् पृथक् ।
कर्तव्यानि महाभाग यत्नेन पृथिवीक्षिता ॥

तथा[2]

यन्त्रायुधाट्टालमयोपपन्नं
समग्रधान्यौषधिसम्प्रयुक्तम् ।
वणिग्जनैश्चाऽऽवृतमावसेत
दुर्गं सुगुप्तं नृपतिः सदैव ॥

तथा[3]

शिरीषोदुम्बरशमीबीजपूर्णं घृतप्लुतम् ।
क्षुद्योगः कथितो राजन् मासार्द्धस्य पुरातनैः ॥

1 म. पु., p. 462, शणसर्जरसं भूर्जं
2 म. पु., ch. 217, sl. 87
3 म. पु., ch. 219, sl. 2-8 ; वी. मि., p. 209

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कशेरूत्फलमूलानि इक्षुमूलं तथाविधम् ।
दूर्वाक्षीरघृतैर्मण्डः सिद्धोऽयं मासिकः[1] परः ॥

नरं शस्त्रहतं प्राप्य तस्यास्थि अरणिर्भवेत्[2] ।
कल्माषवेणुना तत्र जनयेत्तु विभावसुम् ॥

गृहे त्रिरपसव्यं तु क्रियते यत्र पार्थिवः ।
नाऽन्योऽग्निर्ज्वलते तत्र नाऽत्र कार्या विचारणा ॥

कार्पासास्थिन भुजङ्गस्य तथा निर्मोचनं भवेत् ।
सर्पनिर्वासने धूपः प्रशस्तः सततं गृहे ॥

सामुद्रसैन्धवयवा विद्युदग्धा च मृत्तिका ।
तथाऽनुलिप्तं यद्वेश्म नाऽग्निना दह्यते नृप ॥
दिवा च दुर्गे रक्ष्योऽग्निर्वाति वाते विशेषतः ॥

इति पुरनिर्माणम् ॥

अथ पुरभूशुद्धिः

तत्र देवीपुराणे[3]

इन्द्र उवाच

कीदृशं तु पुरं कार्यं नगरं कीदृशं शुभम् ।
कस्मिन् स्थाने सुरश्रेष्ठ एतदिच्छामि वेदितुम् ॥

1 I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 209 read माक्षिक ; म. पु., p. 466 confirms the text.

2 म. पु., ch. 219, sl. 4 : न तस्य मरणं भवेत्

3 वी. मि., p. 214

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ब्रह्मोवाच

सर्वौषधिभवे देशे सर्वलोकसुखावहे ।
पूर्वोत्तरप्लवे स्थाने कार्यं शक्रपुरादिकम् ॥
शर्कराद्यश्मरहिते कटुकण्टकवर्ज्जिते ।
संहृते पांसुरहिते कुशादिभिरनावृते ॥
चलगन्धसमायुक्ता मही स्वादोपलक्षिता ।
चण्डालपतितत्यक्ता शरावशकलैर्विना ॥
देवावासपरित्यक्ता निराबाधा मनोरमा ।
उदगाधिप्लवा गाधा वैषम्यादिविवर्जिता ॥
शुद्धा सा दहनाद्यैश्च अथ चण्डेश्वरान्विता ।
सर्वेश्वरयुता वाऽपि अन्यथा भयदा मही ॥
पूर्ववर्णविपर्यस्ता[1] स्थानकालादिसूत्रगा ।
स्वामिश्रेष्ठिपुरादीनां भयदा जायते मही ॥
कश्मलाद्यैः परिक्लिष्टा पूतनादिसमाकुला ।
पताकी वर्जनीया तु सर्वदोषकरी मही ॥
वत्सरं या परित्यक्ता कृष्णधान्यरुहा च या ।
सा मही शुभदा ज्ञेया या च तृप्तिकरी भवेत् ॥
रक्ष्या देव्यः सदैवाऽत्र पूजनीयाः स्वभागगाः ।
स्थानानि कल्पयेत्तासामधिवासं तु कारयेत् ॥

'चण्डेश्वरो' महादेवस्य गणविशेषः । 'अधिवासः' स्थापनम्[2] ।

1 वी. मि., p. 214, पूर्णवर्ण

2 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 215

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तथा

चतुर्दण्डः प्रकर्तव्यो भूमावादौ परिग्रहः ।
गां सवत्सां समादाय कुम्भं धान्यमयं[1] तथा ॥

सवस्त्रं हेमगर्भं तु सहकारदलान्वितम् ।
पृथ्वीं सङ्कल्पयेत्तस्मिन्मेरुकर्णिकशोभिताम् ॥

वनशैलसमायुक्तां सागरैः परिवेष्टिताम् ।
एवं सम्पूजयित्वा तु देवदेवं त्रिलोचनम् ॥

कुमारादिशिवादींश्च विचार्यादिमहामहीम् ।
सूर्यादिलोकपालादिनागयक्षादिदेवताः ॥

पूर्वं सम्पूजयित्वा तु पश्चाद्दद्याद्दिशां बलिम् ।
स्वप्नमाणवकं जप्त्वा शेते तत्र यथासुखम् ॥

आचार्यः सूत्रधारश्च शुभं स्वप्नं निशाक्षये ।
निमित्तं शकुनं दृष्ट्वा सूत्रयेल्लक्षितां दिशम्[2] ॥

'स्वप्नमाणवकं' "यज्जाग्रत" इति[3] ।

चित्रास्वात्यन्तरे पूर्वा पुष्यपित्र्यसमागमे ।
उत्तराध्रुवमध्यस्थाः शेषाः सिद्धा यथागमम् ॥

'चित्रास्वात्यो'रुदितयोर्मध्ये या, तथा पुष्यमघानक्षत्राभ्यां चार्जवेन संयुता सा पूर्वदिगित्यर्थः[4] ।

1 So I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 217, but Udaipur Ms. reads धान्यसमं

2 I. O., सूत्रे यल्लक्षतां दिशम्

3 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 218

4 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 218

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शकुना तदभावे तु पूर्वासां साधयेद्द्विजः ।
एवं दिशासु सिद्धासु सूत्रपातं समाचरेत् ॥
आचार्यं पूजयित्वा तु सूत्रधारं द्विजोत्तमान् ।
देवतायतनं पूर्वमाचार्यं ब्राह्मणौकसम् ॥
राजधाम तु शेषांस्तु गृहान् वर्णक्रमाद्गुरुः ।
पुरं वृत्तायतं कार्यं [1]त्र्यस्रं वा चतुरस्रकम् ॥
यथा स्थानविभागेन हट्टशोभासमन्वितम् ।
राजधामाग्रतः कार्यं देवधाम अथाऽपि वा ॥
सुसूत्रं देवतायुक्तं शिवमातृगणावृतम् ।
मङ्गला [2]धनुहा कार्या मध्यान्ते सर्वसिद्धिदा ॥
न सूर्याद्ब्रह्मियाम्ये वा नैर्ऋते वा हरिः क्वचित् ।
न विष्णुः पश्चिमे सौम्ये[3] वायव्यां कारयेच्छिवम् ॥
कृते विनश्यते कर्त्ता तत्स्थानं चोद्वसं भवेत् ।
[देवो न पूज्यते तत्र तस्मिन् स्थाने स्वके शुभे ॥
विसूत्रेषु प्रवक्ष्यामि येन शान्तिं शुभं भवेत्[4]] ।
नगराणां पुराणां च देवानां गोपुरादिषु ॥
विमार्गेषु शिवः शस्तः सम्मुखः सौम्यभागगः ।
सौम्याग्रे सर्वतो दुर्गे पुरं नन्दति रक्षितम् ॥
तस्माद्दुर्गः प्रकर्तव्यो नगरेषु पुरादिषु ।

1 वी. मि., p. 218, द्व्यस्रं
2 *Ibid*, धनदा
3 A. S. B., सोमे
4 [ ] A. S. B., I. O. and वी. मि., p. 219

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महालक्ष्म्यादिका शक्र क्षेमकारी सचण्डिका ॥
मङ्गला मङ्गलारूपा महिषघ्नी शिवानना।
यथा स्थानविभागस्था सर्वलोके सुखावहा[1] ॥
महालक्ष्मीः पुरः शस्ता आग्नेये महिषापहा।
याम्याञ्चैव शिवा प्रोक्ता[2] चर्चिका पश्चिमे पुरात् ॥
उत्तरे शुभदा क्षेमा पञ्चैताः शान्तिदाः पुरे।
नगरे नव कर्तव्या दुर्गे पञ्चैव चण्डिकाः ॥

तथा[3]

नगरं देवतावीतं[4] समस्तप्रकृतीयुतम्।
सप्त पञ्च पुरैः कार्यं मण्डपैरुपशोभितम् ॥
कोष्टकाः सश्रियः कार्या मण्डपादग्रतः शुभाः।
एवं देवालयोपेतं सर्ववर्णसमन्वितम् ॥
नवदुर्गसमायुक्तं नगरं परिकीर्तितम्।
पुरं हट्टसमायुक्तं देवतादिसमाकुलम् ॥
हट्टं हेममणिर्वस्त्रं पत्रोर्णा चर्मविक्रयम्।
सुरापेयादिकं यस्मिंस्तत्पुरं पत्तने शृणु ॥
असंहतं समं कार्यं वणिक् हट्टं सुशोभनम्।
सुरनाम स्वनामं वा पत्तनं सर्वकामदम् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 219, शिवा नरा (?)
2 A. S. B. and I. O., याम्यां शिवा शुभा प्रोक्ता; so also वी. मि., p. 219
3 वी. मि., p. 215
4 Udaipur Ms. reads दैवताबीजम् (?)

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अवेधं कारयेत्पङ्कगर्त्तादिभिः सुरोत्तम ।
उभयोरन्तरे कार्यं देवतायतनादिकम् ॥
देवलक्ष्मविहीनं तु समदृष्टिगतं शुभम् ।
चिह्नदृष्टिगते देवे न दृष्टेः सन्निरूपणम् ॥
समे मानसमायुक्ते कार्यदृष्टिसमा शुभा ।
ऊनाधिका[1] न कर्तव्या व्यालसिंहादिनावृते[2] ॥
एवं कुर्यात्पुरे हट्टं प्राकारान्तर्गतं शुभम् ।
चतुर्हस्तं[3] समं कार्यं समसूत्रं सुशोभनम् ॥
पथः समं पुरं कार्यं सममार्गविनिर्गमम् ।
चतुष्पथानि शुद्धानि नित्यं पूजायुतानि च ॥
देवान्तराणि कार्याणि स्वाधिकार्यावृतानि च ।
देवान्तरेषु मन्त्रज्ञाः स्वे स्वे देशाः शुभावहाः ॥
भिन्ना बहुप्रदा लोके [4]यथाशास्तपरिग्रहः ।
न शुभा मन्त्रहीनास्तु द्विजाद्या नैष्ठिकास्तथा ॥
चर्चिकाद्यास्तथा शक्र मन्त्रहीना भयावहाः ।
अग्रतः पृष्ठतो देवा उभयोः पार्श्वयोर्द्विजाः ॥
हस्तानां तु शतं त्याज्यं नृपराष्ट्रसुखार्थिभिः ।
दृष्टिभङ्गो न कर्तव्यो रक्षेद्देवीषु यत्नतः ॥
दण्डाष्टकं सुविस्तीर्णं कृते राजा विनश्यति ।

1 वी. मि., p. 215 reads द्रमाधिका (?)
2 1. O., वृतैः
3 वी. मि., p. 215 and Udaipur Ms. read चतुर्हट्टं
4 वी. मि., p. 215, यथा शास्त्रपरिग्रहः

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तस्माद्दृष्टिः सदा देया तोरणान्तर्गता शुभा ॥

अष्टहस्तं सुशोभाढ्यं शैलवृक्षमयं च वा ।
तोरणं शस्यते देव्या वापीकूपजलं वनम् ॥

पूर्वोत्तरं तथैशान्यामारामः शुभदः कृतः ।
देवीनां मातृकाणां च स भवेत्सर्वकामदः ॥

यथाशुभग्रहाद्दैवाद्यच्च कालकृतं भवेत् ।
तत्सर्वं देवतागारे कृते भवति शोभनम् ॥

बलिजाप्यक्रिया नित्यं मातॄणां च शुभा भवेत् ।
पुरपत्तनग्रामाणां ब्रह्मपुर्यः सकामदाः ॥

ब्रह्मविद्याकलोपेता यत्र वेदविदोऽवसन् ।
सा पुरी कमला नाम सर्वलोकसुखावहा ॥

विद्या ह्येका तथा द्वित्रा चतस्रो यत्र संस्थिताः ।
रुद्रो देवी सविजया गायत्री चक्रमात्मना ॥

गृहाः पङ्क्तिगताः कार्याः शुभवर्त्म ऋजुस्थिताः ।
पूर्वोत्तरसुमार्गस्थाः सजला देवतान्विताः ॥

ब्रह्मत्रिदशपूजार्थं मठादिमुपकल्पयेत् ।
पाठस्थानानि कुर्वीत शिवायतनवेधसोः ॥

पुरे वा नगरे वत्स राजधान्यां च पत्तने ।
दुर्गे हट्टे शुभा दृष्टिर्महालक्ष्म्याः समङ्गला ॥

मुखलिङ्गगणेशानां[1] धनदस्य विशेषतः ।
श्रियश्च सौम्यरूपायाः स्वामीशस्य शुभस्य च ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 217, शिवलिङ्ग

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रक्षोदेवीषु चोग्रासु दृष्टिर्देया न चाऽन्यथा ।
बाह्ये वनोपकण्ठे च नदीनदतटेऽथवा[1] ॥

प्रासादे चोत्तमा कार्या तीर्थे हट्टानुगाऽथवा ।
वाराही भैरवी चोग्रा नारसिंही त्रिविक्रमी[2] ॥

पुरपत्तनगेहेषु दृष्टिर्वर्ज्या प्रयत्नतः ।
उग्रा दृष्टिर्हरेद्राष्ट्रं दारुणा नगरादिकम् ॥

नरसिंहवराहाणां दृष्टिर्हन्यात्प्रियं[3] जनम् ।
तस्माद्दृष्टिः शुभा कार्या समा सर्वगता ततः ॥

विवाहेऽपि शुभा दृष्टिः समा भवति नाऽन्यथा ।
अतो यत्नेन देवानां दृष्टिः सौम्या प्रशस्यते ॥

ग्रहाणां सौम्यरूपाणां लग्ने दृष्टिः शुभावहा[4] ।
पुरपत्तनदुर्गेषु तथा सौम्या शुभावहा ॥

एवं हट्टे पुरे दुर्गे देया दृष्टिः शुभा नृप ।
शुभार्थे सौम्यरूपाणामुग्राणां परिवर्जयेत् ॥

आवाहने जले वाऽथ उग्रा दृष्टिः शुभावहा ॥

इति पुरभूशुद्धिः ॥

1 A. S. B. and I. O. read यथा for अथवा, which वी. मि., p. 217 adopts like Udaipur Ms.

2 I. O. and A. S. B. read त्रैविक्रमी, which breaks the metre.

3 वी. मि., p. 217, श्रियं जनम्

4 So वी. मि., ; but I. O. and A. S. B. read शुभा यथा

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अथ वास्तुकर्मविधिः

तत्र मत्स्यपुराणे[1]

सूत उवाच

(कालफलम्)

अथाऽतः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि गृहकालविनिर्णयम्[2] ।
यथाकालं शुभं ज्ञात्वा तदा भवनमारभेत् ॥
चैत्रे व्याधिमवाप्नोति यो गृहं कारयेन्नरः ।
वैशाखे धनरत्नानि[3] ज्येष्ठे मृत्युं तथैव च ॥
आषाढे भृत्यरत्नानि [4]वस्त्रं वर्य्यमवाप्नुयात् ।
श्रावणे मित्रलाभन्तु[5] हानिं भाद्रपदे तथा ॥
पत्नीनाशमाश्वयुजे कार्तिके धनधान्यकम् ।
मार्गशीर्षे तथा भक्तं पौषे तस्करतो भयम् ॥
लाभं च बहुशो विन्देदग्निं माघे विनिर्दिशेत् ।
फाल्गुने काञ्चनं पुत्रानिति कालफलं स्मृतम् ॥

1 I. O. and वी. मि., p. 219
2 म. पु., ch. 253 (p. 520)
3 म. पु., धेनुरत्नानि
4 वी. मि., p. 220, पशुवर्गम् ; so म. पु.
5 म. पु., भृत्यलाभं for मित्रलाभम्

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(नक्षत्रफलम्)

अश्विनी रोहिणी मूलमुत्तरात्रयमैन्दवम् ।
स्वातिर्हस्तोऽनुराधा च गृहारम्भे प्रशस्यते ॥

(वारफलम्)

आदित्यभौमवर्ज्यं च सर्वे वाराः शुभावहाः ॥

(योगफलम्)

वर्ज्यं व्याघातशूलेषु व्यतिपातातिगण्डयोः ।
विष्कम्भगण्डपरिघवज्रयोगेषु [न] कारयेत्[1] ॥

(मुहूर्तफलम्)

स्वातौ मैत्रेय माहेन्द्रगन्धर्वाभिजिद्रौहिणे ।
तथा वैराजसावित्रे मुहूर्त्ते गृहमारभेत् ॥

(लग्नफलम्)

चन्द्रादित्यबलं लब्ध्वा लग्नं शुभनिरीक्षितम् ।
स्तम्भोच्छ्रयादि कर्तव्यमन्यत्र परिवर्जयेत् ॥

(भूमिपरीक्षा)

प्रासादेष्वेवमेव स्यात्कूपवापीषु शस्यते ।
पूर्वं भूमिं परीक्षेत पश्चाद्वास्तुं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
श्वेता रक्ता तथा पीता कृष्णा चैवाऽनुपूर्वशः ।
विप्रादेः शस्यते भूमिरतः कार्यं परीक्षणम् ॥

1 म. पु., p. 521 inserts the negative particle.

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विप्राणां मधुरास्वादा कषाया क्षत्रियस्य तु ।
कषायकटुका तद्वद्वैश्यशूद्रेषु शस्यते[1] ॥
रत्निमात्रे[2] तु वै [3]गर्त्ते स्वनुलिप्ते च सर्वशः ।
घृतमामशरावस्थं कृत्वा वर्त्तिचतुष्टयम् ॥
ज्वालयेद् भूपरीक्षार्थं पूर्णं तत्सर्वदिङ्मुखम् ।
दीप्तां पूर्वादि गृह्णीयाद्वर्णानामनुपूर्वशः ॥
वास्तुः सामूहिको नाम दीप्यते सर्वतस्तु यः ।
शुभदः सर्ववर्णानां प्रासादेषु गृहेषु च ॥
रत्निमात्रं तु वै गर्त्तं परीक्ष्यं खातपूरणैः ।
अधिके श्रियमाप्नोति न्यूने हानिं समे समम् ॥
फालकृष्टेऽथवा देशे सर्वबीजानि वापयेत् ।
त्रिपञ्चसप्तरात्रेण यत्र रोहन्ति तान्यपि ॥
ज्येष्ठोत्तमकनिष्ठा भूर्वर्जयेदितरां सदा ।
पञ्चगव्यौषधिजलैः परीक्षित्वाऽथ सेचयेत् ॥
एकाशीतिपदं कृत्वा रेखाभिः कनकेन तु ।
पश्चाल्लेपेन[4] वाऽऽलिप्य सूत्रेणाऽऽलोड्य सर्वतः ॥
दशपूर्वायता रेखा दश चैवोत्तरायताः ।
सर्ववास्तुविभागेषु विज्ञेया नवका नव ॥

1 म. पु., p. 521, तिक्ता कषाया च तथा वैश्यशूद्रेषु शस्यते

2 *Ibid*, अरत्निमात्रे वै गर्त्ते

3 I. O. omits this and the two following lines.

4 वी. मि., p. 221, पश्चाल्लेह्येन वा लिप्त्वा

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(देवपूजनम्)

एकाशीतिपदं[1] कृत्वा वास्तुवित् सर्ववास्तुषु ।
पदस्थान् पूजयेद्देवान् त्रिंशत् पञ्चदशैव तु ॥
द्वात्रिंशद्बाह्यतः पूज्याः पूज्याश्चाऽन्तस्त्रयोदश ।
नामतस्तान् प्रवक्ष्यामि स्थानानि च निबोधत ॥
ईशानकोणादिषु तान् पूजयेच्च विधानतः ।
शिखी चैवाऽथ पर्जन्यो जयन्तः कुलिशायुधः ॥
सूर्यः सत्यो भृगुश्चैव आकाशो वायुरेव च ।
पूषा च वितथश्चैव गृहक्षतयमावुभौ ॥
गन्धर्वो भृङ्गराजश्च मृगः पितृगणस्तथा ।
दौवारिकोऽथ सुग्रीवः पुष्पदन्तो जलाधिपः ॥
असुरः शोषपापौ च रोगोऽहिर्मुख्य एव च ।
भल्लाटः[2] सोमसूर्यौ च अदितिश्च दितिस्तथा ॥
बहिर्द्वात्रिंशदेते तु तदन्तश्चतुरः शृणु ।
ईशानादिचतुष्कोणे संस्थितान् पूजयेद्बुधः ॥
आपश्चैवाऽथ सावित्रो जयो रुद्रस्तथैव च ।
मध्ये[3] चतुष्पदो ब्रह्मा तस्याऽप्यष्टौ समीपगाः ॥
सर्वानेकान्तरान्विद्यात्पूर्वाद्यान्नामतः श्रृणु ।
अर्यमा सविता चैव विवस्वान्विबुधाधिपः ॥
मित्रोऽथ राजयक्ष्मा च तथा पृथ्वीधरः क्रमात् ।

1 Lacuna here in A. S. B.

2 म. पु., p. 521, भल्लटः सोमसर्पौ च

3 *Ibid*, मध्ये नवपदे ब्रह्मा

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अष्टमश्चाऽपवत्सस्तु परितो ब्रह्मणः स्मृताः ॥

आपश्चैवाऽपवत्सश्च पर्जन्योऽग्निर्दितिस्तथा ।
पदिकानां च वर्गोऽयमेवं कोणेष्वशेषतः ॥

तन्मध्ये तु बहिर्वत्सद्विपदास्ते तु सर्वतः ।
वंशानिदानीं वक्ष्यामि रज्जूनपि पृथक् पृथक्[1] ॥

वायुं यावत्तथा रोगात्पितृभ्यः शिखिनं पुरः[2] ।
मुख्याद्भृशं तथा शेषाद्वितथं यावदेव तु ॥

सुग्रीवादितिं[3] यावन्मृगात्पर्जन्यमेव च ।
एते वंशाः समाख्याताः क्वचिद्रज्जव एव तु ॥

एतेषां यस्तु सम्पातः पदं मध्यं समं तथा ।
मर्म चैतत्समाख्यातं त्रिशूलं कोणगं च यत् ॥

स्तम्भन्यासेषु वर्ज्यानि तुलाविधिषु सर्वदा ।
कीलकुड्योपघातादि वर्जयेद्यत्नतो नरः ॥

सर्वत्र वास्तुनिर्दिष्टः पितृवंशान्तरायतः ।
शिरस्यग्निः समाविष्टो मुखे चापः समाश्रितः ॥

पृथ्वीधरोऽर्यमा चैव [4]स्तनयोस्तावधिष्ठितौ ।
वक्षस्थले त्वापवत्सः पूजनीयः सदा बुधैः ॥

नेत्रयोर्दितिपर्जन्यौ श्रोत्रेऽदितिजयन्तकौ ।

1 म. पु., p. 521, श्रज्जूनपि प्रथक् प्रथक्

2 म. पु., and वी. मि., p. 222, पुनः for पुरः

3 Omission supplied by I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 222

4 म. पु., p. 522, स्कन्धयोः for स्तनयोः

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सर्प्पेन्द्रावंससंस्थौ तु पूजनीयौ प्रयत्नतः ॥
सत्यरोगादयस्तद्वद्वाह्वोः[1] पञ्च च पञ्च च ।
रुद्रश्च राजयक्ष्मा च वामहस्ते समास्थितौ ॥
सावित्रः सविता तद्वद्धस्तं दक्षिणमाश्रितौ ।
विवस्वानथ मित्रश्च जठरे संव्यवस्थितौ ॥
पूषा च राजयक्ष्मा च हस्तयोर्मणिबन्धने ।
तथैवाऽऽसुरशोषौ तु वामपार्श्वे समाश्रितौ ॥
पार्श्वे तु दक्षिणे तद्वद्वितथः सगृहक्षतः ।
ऊर्वोर्यमाम्बुपौ ज्ञेयौ जान्वोर्गन्धर्वपुष्पकौ ॥
जङ्घयोर्भृगुसुग्रीवौ स्फिक्स्थो दौवारिको मृगः ।
जयः शक्रस्तथा मेढ्रे पादयोः पितरस्तथा ॥
मध्ये नवपदो ब्रह्मा हृदये स तु पूज्यते ।
चतुष्षष्टिपदो वास्तुः प्रासादे ब्रह्मणा स्मृतः ॥
ब्रह्मा चतुष्पदस्तत्र कोणेष्वेकपदस्ततः[2] ।
बहिः कोणेषु चाऽष्टौ तु सार्द्धाश्चोभयतः स्थिताः ॥
विंशतिर्द्विपदास्तेषां चतुष्षष्टिपदास्मृताः ।
गृहारम्भे तु कण्डूतिः [3]स्वाम्यङ्गे यत्र जायते ॥
शल्यं त्वपनयेत्तत्र प्रासादे भवनेऽपि वा ।
सशल्यं भयदं यस्मादशल्यं भयनाशनम्[4] ॥

1 म. पु., p. 522, सूर्यसोमादयः तद्वत्
2 म. पु., p. 522, कोणेष्वर्धपदास्तदा
3 वी. मि , p. 224, स्वस्याङ्गे
4 म. पु., p. 522, शुभदायकम्

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हीनाधिकाङ्गतां वास्तोः सर्वथा परिवर्जयेत् ।
नगरग्रामदेशेषु सर्वत्रैवं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

'शुभनिरीक्षितं' शुभग्रहनिरीक्षितम् । 'ऐन्दवं' मृगशिरः । 'दीप्तौ पूर्वादी'ति पूर्वां दिशमारभ्य प्रदक्षिणं सम्यक् वर्त्तिप्रदीपने ब्राह्मणादीनां वर्णानां यथासंख्यं सुखावहमित्यर्थः । 'खातपूरणैः' खातस्य गर्तस्य तैरेव सम्बन्धिभिः पूरणैः । 'पितृवंशान्तरायतः' पितृगणादारभ्य वर्हिं यावद्यो वंशः प्रसारितः, तद्वदायतो वा वास्तुपुरुषः । 'अम्बुपो' जलाधिपः । 'पुष्पकः' पुष्पदन्तः । 'जयश्शक्र' इत्यत्र 'जय'शब्दः शक्रवाची । 'तद्वत्कोणेष्वेकपदा' इति । एकाशीतिपदे वास्तौ याः कोणेष्वेकपदा देवता इहाऽपि तास्तथैव बोद्धव्याः । 'बहिःकोणेषु चेत्यादि' प्रान्तकोणेषु चतुर्षु ये उभयपार्श्वे कोष्टकास्तेष्वष्टौ देवताः । 'सार्द्धा भवन्ति' देवताचतुष्टयसहिता भवन्तीत्यर्थः[1] ।

(चतुश्शालादिलक्षणम्)

चतुश्शालं त्रिशालं च द्विशालं चैकशालकम् ।
नामतस्तानि वक्ष्यामि स्वरूपेण द्विजोत्तमाः[2] ॥

सूत उवाच

चतुश्शालं प्रवक्ष्यामि स्वरूपान्नामतस्तथा[3] ।

1 The entire commentary is reproduced piecemeal after each *s'loka* by वी. मि., pp. 219-226

2 Though all Mss. put this *s'loka* befor the commentary, its proper place is after it.

3 म. पु., ch. 254 (p. 522); वी. मि., p. 224

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चतुश्शालं चतुर्द्वारैरलिन्दैः सर्वतो वृतम् ॥
नाम्ना तत्सर्वतो भद्रं शुभं देवनृपालये ।
पश्चिमद्वारहीनं तु नन्द्यावर्त्तं प्रचक्षते ॥
दक्षिणद्वारहीनन्तु [वर्धमानमुदाहृतम् ।
पूर्वद्वारविहीनं तु[1]] स्वस्तिकं नाम विश्रुतम् ॥
रुचकं चोत्तरद्वारविहीनं तु प्रचक्षते ।
सौम्यशालाविहीनं यत्त्रिशालं धन्यकं च तत् ॥
क्षेमवृद्धिकरं नृणां बहुपुत्रफलप्रदम् ।
शालया पूर्वया हीनं सुक्षेत्रमिति विश्रुतम् ॥
धन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं शोकमोहविनाशनम् ।
चुल्ही तु याम्यया हीनं त्रिशालं शालया तु यत्[2] ॥
कुलक्षयकरं नृणां सर्वव्याधिभयावहम् ।
हीनं पश्चिमया यत्तु पक्षघ्नं नाम तद्विदुः ॥
मित्रबन्धुसुतान्[3] हन्ति तथा सर्पभयावहम् ।
याम्यापराभ्यां शालाभ्यां धनधान्यफलप्रदम् ॥
क्षेमवृद्धिकरं नृणां तथा पुत्रफलप्रदम् ।
यमसूर्यं च विज्ञेयं पश्चिमोत्तरशालकम् ॥
राजाग्निभयदं नृणां कुलक्षयकरं च तत् ।
उदक्पूर्वे तु शाले द्वे दण्डाख्यं तत्र तद्भवेत् ॥
अकालमृत्युभयदं परचक्रभयावहम् ।

1 [] Omission Udaipur Ms. supplied by I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 224 ; confirmed by म. पु., p. 522

2 म. पु., p. 522, शालया याम्यया हीनं यद्विशालं तु शालया ।

3 वी. मि., p. 225 पितृ for मित्र ; म. पु., confirms the text.

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चापाख्यं[1] याम्यपूर्वाभ्यां शालाभ्यां यद्द्विशालकम् ॥
विषशस्त्राग्निभयदं पराभवभयावहम् ।
चुल्ही पूर्वापराभ्यां च सा भवेन्मृत्युसूचनी ॥
विधवत्वाय च स्त्रीणामनेकभयकारकम् ।
कार्यमुत्तरयाम्याभ्यां[2] शालाभ्यां भयदं नृणाम् ॥
सिद्धार्थवर्ज्जं वर्ज्यानि द्विशालानि सदा बुधैः ॥

'अलिन्दं' द्वारचतुष्किका। 'सौम्यशाला' उत्तरद्वारशाला। 'सिद्धार्थवर्ज्जं' याम्यात्पराभ्यां शालाभ्यां युक्तं यद्द्विशालं तद्विहाय[3]।

(राजादिगृहलक्षणम्)

अथाऽतः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि भवनं पृथिवीपतेः।
पञ्चप्रकारं तत्प्रोक्तमुत्तमादिविभेदतः ॥
अष्टोत्तरं हस्तशतं विस्तारश्चोत्तमो मतः ।
चतुर्ष्वन्येषु विस्तारो हीयते चाऽष्टभिः करैः ॥
चतुर्थांशाधिकं दैर्घ्यं पञ्चस्वपि निगद्यते ।
युवराजस्य वक्ष्यामि तथा भवनपञ्चकम् ॥
षड्भिषड्भिस्तथाऽशीतिर्हीयते तत्र विस्तरात् ।
त्र्यंशेन चाऽधिकं दैर्घ्यं पञ्चस्वपि निगद्यते ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 225 वायव्यं for चापाख्यं, a reading noted in म. पु., p. 523

2 Mss. read कार्चं for कार्यम्

3 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 225

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सेनापतेः प्रवक्ष्यामि तथा भवनपञ्चकम् ।
चतुष्षष्टिः सुविस्तारः षड्भिः षड्भिः प्रहीयते ॥
पञ्चस्वेतेषु दैर्घ्यं च षड्भागेनाऽधिकं भवेत् ।
मन्त्रिणामथ वक्ष्यामि तथा भवनपञ्चकम् ॥
चतुश्चतुर्विहीना स्यात्करषष्टिः प्रविस्तरे ।
अष्टांशेनाऽधिकं दैर्घ्यं पञ्चस्वपि निगद्यते ॥
सामन्तामात्यलोकानां वक्ष्ये भवनपञ्चकम् ।
चत्वारिंशत्तथाऽष्टौ च चतुर्भिर्हीयते क्रमात् ॥
[चतुर्थांशाधिकं दैर्घ्यं पञ्चस्वेतेषु शस्यते ।
शिल्पिनां कञ्चुकीनां च वैश्यानां गृहपञ्चकम् ॥
अष्टाविंशत्कराणां तद्विहीनं विस्तरात् क्रमात् ।
द्विगुणं दैर्घ्यमेवोक्तं मध्यमेष्वेवमेव तु ॥
दूतकर्मान्तिकादीनां वक्ष्ये भवनपञ्चकम्[1] ।]
चतुर्थांशाधिकं दैर्घ्यं विस्तारो द्वादशैव च ॥
अध्यर्द्धं करहानिः स्याद्विस्तरात्पञ्चसु क्रमात् ।
दैवज्ञगुरुवैद्यानां सभास्तारपुरोधसाम् ॥
तेषामपि प्रवक्ष्यामि क्रमाद्भवनपञ्चकम् ।
चत्वारिंशत्प्रविस्ताराच्चतुर्भिर्हीयते क्रमात् ॥
पञ्चस्वेतेषु दैर्घ्यं च षड्भागेनाऽधिकं भवेत् ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य वक्ष्यामि सामान्यं गृहपञ्चकम् ॥
द्वात्रिंशद्वै कराणां तु चतुर्भिर्हीयते क्रमात् ।
आषोडशादिति परं न्यूनमन्त्यावसायिनाम् ॥

1 [ ] Omission in Udaipur Ms. only.

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दशांशेनाऽष्टभागेन त्रिभागेनाऽथ भागिकम् ।
अधिकं दैर्घ्यमित्याहुः ब्राह्मणादेः प्रशस्यते ॥
सेनापतेर्नृपस्याऽपि चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य चाऽन्तरे[1] ।
वासाय च गृहं कार्यं राजपूज्येषु सर्वदा ॥
अन्तरा प्रभवानां च स्वपितुर्न्यूनमिष्यते[2] ।
तथा हस्तशतादर्वाग्गमितं वनवासिनाम् ॥
सेनापतेर्नृपस्याऽपि सप्तत्या सहितैर्हि ते ।
चतुर्दशहृते व्यासे शालान्यासः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
पञ्चत्रिंशोद्धृते तस्मिन् अलिन्दः समुदाहृतः ।
तथा षट्त्रिंशद्धस्ता तु सप्ताङ्गुलसमन्विता ॥
विप्रस्य महती शाला न दैर्घ्यं परतो भवेत् ।
दशाङ्गुलाधिका तद्वत् क्षत्रियस्य विधीयते ॥
पञ्चत्रिंशत्करा वैश्ये अङ्गुलानि त्रयोदश ।
तावत्करैव शूद्रस्य युता पञ्चदशाङ्गुलैः ॥
शालायास्तु त्रिभागेन यस्याऽग्रे वीथिका भवेत् ।
सोष्णीषं नाम तद्वास्तु पश्चाच्छायाश्रयं भवेत् ॥
पार्श्वयोर्वीथिका यत्र सावष्टम्भं तदुच्यते ।
समन्ताद्वीथिका यत्र सुस्थितं तदिहोच्यते ॥
शुभदं सर्वमेतत्स्याच्चातुर्वर्ण्ये चतुर्विधम् ।
विस्तारात्षोडशो भागस्तथा हस्तचतुष्टयम् ॥
प्रथमो भूमिकोच्छ्रायः उपरिष्टात्प्रहीयते ।

1 म. पु., p. 523, ग्रहयोरन्तरेण तु

2 *Ibid*, ग्रहमिष्यते

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द्वादशांशेन सर्वासु भूमिकासु तथोच्छ्रयात् ॥
पक्केष्टका भवेद्भित्तिः षडंशांशेन विस्तरात् ।
दारवैरपि कल्प्या स्यात्तथा मृण्मयभित्तिका ॥
गर्भमानेन मानं तु सर्व्ववास्तुषु शस्यते ।
गृहव्यासस्य पञ्चाशदष्टादशभिरङ्गुलैः ॥
संयुतो द्वारविष्कम्भात् द्विगुणश्चोच्छ्रयो भवेत् ।
द्वारशाखासु बाहुल्यमुच्छ्रायकरसम्मितैः ॥
अङ्गुलैः सर्ववास्तूनां पृथुत्वं शस्यते बुधैः ।
उदुम्बरोत्तमाङ्गं च तदध्यर्द्धप्रविस्तरात् ॥

'सेनापतेर्नृपस्याऽपि सप्तत्ये'त्यादि । सेनापतेर्नृपस्य गृहे यावान्विस्तार उक्तस्तं करसप्तत्या सहितं कृत्वा, तदर्द्धं गृहीत्वा तस्याऽर्द्धस्य चतुर्दशविभागं कृत्वा यावदवशिष्टं भवति तावद्विस्तारां शालां कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तेनाऽष्टोत्तरहस्तशतविस्तारे राजवेश्मनि पञ्चहस्तप्रमाणा शाला भवति । 'पञ्चत्रिंशोद्धृत' इति । तस्मिन्नेव नवाशीतिविस्तारे राजवेश्मनि पञ्चहस्तपञ्चत्रिंशता भागहारे कृते ये एकोनविंशतिहस्ता अवशिष्यन्ते तावानलिन्दः कर्तव्यः । 'उदुम्बरो' देहली[1] ।

(स्तम्भमानविनिर्णयः)

अथाऽतः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि स्तम्भमानविनिर्णयम्[2] ।

1 The entire commentary is reproduced by वी. मि., pp. 227-228

2 म. पु., ch. 255, p. 524 ff.

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तद्वास्तुभवनोच्छ्रायं सदा सप्तगुणं विदुः ॥
अशीत्यंशं पृथुत्वे स्यादग्रे नवगुणैः सह ।
रुचकश्चतुरस्रस्स्यादष्टास्रो वज्र उच्यते ॥
द्विवज्रषोडशास्रस्तु द्वात्रिंशास्रः प्रलीनकः ।
मध्यप्रदेशे यः स्तम्भो वृत्तो वृत्त इति स्मृतः ॥
एते पञ्च महास्तम्भाः प्रशस्ताः सर्ववास्तुषु ।
पद्मवल्लीलताकुम्भपत्रदर्पणभूषिताः ॥
स्तम्भस्य नवमांशेन पद्मकुम्भान्तराणि तु ।
स्तम्भतुल्या तुला प्रोक्ता हीना चोपतुला ततः ॥
त्रिभागेनेह सर्वत्र चतुर्भागेन वा पुनः ।
हीनं हीनं चतुर्थांशात्तथा सर्वासु भूमिषु ॥
सावरोहाणि[1] सर्वेषां प्रवेशो दक्षिणेन तु ॥

(द्वारविधिः)

द्वाराणि तु प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रशस्तानीह यानि तु ।
पूर्वेणेन्द्रं जयन्तं च द्वारं सर्वत्र शस्यते ॥
याम्यं च वितथं चैव दक्षिणेन विदुर्बुधाः ।
पश्चिमे पुष्पदन्तं तु वारुणं च प्रशस्यते ॥
उत्तरेण तु भल्लाटं सौम्यं तु सुखदं भवेत् ।
तथा वास्तुषु सर्वत्र वेधं द्वारस्य वर्जयेत् ॥
द्वारे तु रथ्यया विद्धे भवेत्सर्वकुलक्षयः ।
तरुणा दोषबाहुल्यं शोकः पङ्केन जायते ॥

1 म. पु., p. 524, वासगेहानि

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अपस्मारो भवेन्नूनं कूपवेधेन सर्वदा ।
व्यथा प्रस्रवणेन स्यात्कीलेनाऽग्निभयं भवेत् ॥
विनाशो देवताविद्धे स्तम्भेन स्त्रीकृतो भवेत् ।
गृहभर्तुर्विनाशस्स्याद्गृहेण च गृहे कृते ॥
अमेध्यावस्करैर्विद्धे गृहिणी बन्धकी भवेत् ।
तत्र शस्त्रभयं विद्यादन्त्यजस्य गृहेण तु ॥
उच्छ्रायद्विगुणां भूमिं त्यक्त्वा वेधो न जायते ।
स्वयमुद्घाटिते द्वारे उन्मादो गृहवासिनाम् ॥
स्वयं च पिहिते विद्यात्कुलनाशं विचक्षणः ।
मानाधिके राजभयं न्यूने तस्करतो भयम् ॥
द्वारोपरि च यद्द्वारं तदन्तकभयं स्मृतम् ।
आध्मातं[1] मध्यदेशे तु अधिको यस्य विस्तरः ॥
वज्रं तु सङ्कटं मध्ये सद्यो भर्तृविनाशनम् ।
तथाऽन्यपीडितं द्वारं बहुदोषकरं भवेत् ॥
मूलद्वारात्तथाऽत्यन्तं नाऽधिकं शोभया भवेत् ।
कुम्भश्रीपर्णवल्लीभिः मूलद्वारं तु शोभयेत् ॥
पूजयेच्चाऽपि तन्नित्यं बलिना चाक्षतोदकैः ॥

(गृहे वृक्षारोपणविधिः)

भवनस्य वटः पूर्वे दिग्भागे सार्वकामिकः ।
उदुम्बरस्तथा याम्ये वारुणे पिप्पलः शुभः ॥

1 म. पु., p. 525, अध्वनो मध्यदेशे तु

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प्लक्षश्चोत्तरतो धन्यो विपरीतास्त्वसिद्धये ।
कण्टकी क्षीरवृक्षश्च आसन्नः सफलद्रुमः ॥

भार्याहानिः प्रजाहानिः भवेतां क्रमशः सदा ।
न छिन्द्याद्यदि तान् वृक्षान् अन्तरे स्थापयेच्छुभान् ॥

पुन्नागाशोकतिलकशमीवकुलचम्पकान् ।
दाडिमीं पिप्पलीं द्राक्षां तथा कुसुममण्डपान् ॥

जम्बीरपूगपनसद्रुमकेतकीभिः
जातीसरोजशतपत्रिकमल्लिकाभिः ।
यन्नालिकेरकदलीदलपाटलाभिः
युक्तं तदत्र भवनं श्रियमातनोति ॥

'रथ्या' मार्गः । 'वेधो'ऽत्राभिमुख्येनाऽवस्थानम् । 'उच्छ्रायद्विगुणमि'ति । यावान् द्वारस्योच्छ्रायो दैर्घ्यं तद्द्विगुणं द्वाराग्रभूमेः परतो यद्येते रथ्यादयो भवन्ति, तदा न वेधो वास्तुवेध इत्यर्थः[1] ।

सूत उवाच[2]

उदगादिप्लवं वास्तोः समानस्य शिरस्तथा ।
परीक्ष्य पूर्ववत् कुर्यात् स्तम्भोच्छ्रायं विचक्षणः ॥

'समानस्य' मानसहितस्य वास्तुपुरुषस्य[3] ।

1 The whole passage, including the prose comments, is reproduced by वी. मि., pp. 227–229

2 म. पु., ch. 256, p. 525 ff.

3 वी. मि., p. 231

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न देवपूर्तसविधे चत्वराणां समीपतः।
कारयेद्भवनं प्राज्ञो दुःखशोकसमन्वितम् ॥

(ग्रहप्रवेशविधिः)

तस्य प्रवेशाश्चत्वारस्तस्योत्सङ्गाग्रतः शुभाः ।
पृष्ठतः पृष्ठतो गन्तुं सव्यावर्तं प्रशस्यते ॥
अपसव्यो विनाशाय दक्षिणे शीर्णकस्तथा ।
सर्वकामफलो नृणां सम्पूर्णो नाम वामतः ॥
एवं प्रवेशमालोच्य यत्नेन गृहमारभेत् ।
अथ सांवत्सरप्रोक्ते मुहूर्ते शुभलक्षणे ॥
रत्नोपरिशिलां कृत्वा सर्वबीजसमन्विताम् ।
चतुर्भिर्ब्राह्मणैस्स्तम्भं वस्त्रालङ्कारपूजितम् ॥
शुक्लाम्बरधरः शिल्पी सहितो वेदपारगैः ।
स्नापितं तन्न्यसेत्तद्वत्सर्वौषधिसमन्वितम् ॥
नानाक्षतसमोपेतं वस्त्राभरणसंयुतम् ।
ब्रह्मघोषेण वाद्येन गीतमङ्गलनिस्स्वनैः ॥
प्रदोषे भोजयेद्विप्रान् होमस्तु मधुसर्पिषा ।
"वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीहि"[1] मन्त्रेणाऽनेन सर्वदा ॥
सूत्रपाते तथा कार्यमेवं स्तम्भोच्छ्रये पुनः ।

1 ऋ. सं., V, 4, 21:

वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीह्यस्मान्त्स्वावेशोऽअनमीवो भवानः ।
यत्त्वेमहे प्रतितन्नो जुषस्व शन्नो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे ॥

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द्वारवंशोच्छ्रये तद्वत्प्रवेशसमये तथा ॥

वास्तूपशमने तद्वद्वास्तुयज्ञस्तु पञ्चधा ।
ईशाने सूत्रपातः स्यादाग्नेये स्तम्भरोपणम् ॥

प्रदक्षिणं च कुर्वीत वास्तोष्पन्दविलेखनम् ।
तर्जनी मध्यमा चैव तथाऽङ्गुष्ठस्तु दक्षिणे ॥

प्रवालरत्नकनकं फलमृष्टाक्षतोदकम् ।
सर्ववास्तुविभागेषु शस्तं पदविलेखनम्[1] ॥

न भस्माङ्गारकाष्ठेन न शस्त्रनखचर्मभिः ।
न श्रृङ्गास्थिकपालैश्च क्वचिद्वास्तु विलेखयेत् ॥

एभिर्विलेखितं कुर्यात् दुःखशोकभयादिकम् ।
यदा गृहप्रवेशः स्याच्छिल्पी तत्राऽभिलक्षयेत् ॥

स्तम्भसूत्रादिकं तद्वच्छुभाशुभफलोदयम् ।
आदित्याभिमुखं रौति शकुनिः परुषं यदि ॥

तुल्यकालं स्पृशेदङ्गं गृहभर्त्ता यदात्मनः ।
वास्त्वङ्गे तद्विजानीयान्नरः शल्यं भयप्रदम् ॥

शकुनानन्तरं यत्र हस्त्यश्वश्वापदं भवेत् ।
तदङ्गसम्भवं विद्यात्तत्र शल्यं विचक्षणः ॥

प्रसार्यमाणे सूत्रे तु श्वगोमायुविलङ्घिते ।
तत्र शल्यं विजानीयात् खरशब्दे च भैरवे[2] ॥

1 म. पु., p. 525 and वी. मि., p. 232 read more correctly पदविलेखने

2 This is an exception to the general rule that this braying of a donkey is a good omen.

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यदीशाने[1] तु दिग्भागे मधुरं रौति वायसः ।
धनं तत्र विजानीयाद्भागे वा स्वाम्यधिष्ठिते[2] ॥
सूत्रच्छेदे भवेन्मृत्युर्व्याधिः कीले त्वधोमुखे ।
अङ्गारेषु तथोन्मादं कपालेषु च सम्भ्रमम् ॥
कण्ठशल्येषु जानीयात्पौंश्चल्यं स्त्रीषु शास्त्रवित् ।
गृहकर्तुर्गृहस्याऽपि विनाशः शिल्पिसम्भ्रमे ॥
स्तम्भस्कन्धाच्युते कुम्भे शिरोरोगान्विनिर्दिशेत् ।
कुम्भापहारे सर्वस्य कुलस्याऽपि क्षयो भवेत् ॥
मृत्युस्थानच्युते कुम्भे भग्ने बन्धं विदुर्बुधाः ।
करसंस्था विनाशे तु नाशं गृहपतेर्विदुः ॥
बीजौषधिविहीने तु भूतेभ्यो भयमादिशेत् ।
प्राग्दक्षिणेन विन्यस्य स्तम्भे छत्रं निवेशयेत् ॥
ततः प्रदक्षिणेनाऽन्यान् न्यसेत् स्तम्भान्विचक्षणः ।
यस्माद्भयङ्करा नॄणां योजितास्त्वप्रदक्षिणाः ॥
रक्षां कुर्वीत यत्नेन स्तम्भोपद्रवनाशिनी ।
तथा फलवतीं शाखां स्तम्भोपरि निवेशयेत् ॥
प्रागुदक्प्रवणं कुर्याद्दिङ्मूढं तु न कारयेत् ।
स्तम्भं वा भवनं चाऽपि द्वारं वासगृहं तथा ॥
दिङ्मूढे कुलनाशः स्यान्न च संवर्द्धते गृहम् ।
यदि संवर्द्धयेद्गेहं सर्वमेव विवर्जयेत् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 232 has शाक्रे ('east')

2 Fifteen ślokas from this are omitted in I. O.

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पूर्वेण वर्द्धितं वास्तु कुर्याद्वैराणि सर्वदा ।
दक्षिणे वर्द्धितं वास्तु मृत्यवे स्यान्न संशयः ॥

पश्चाद्विवृद्धं यद्वास्तु तदर्थक्षयकारकम् ।
वर्द्धापितं तथा सौम्ये बहुसन्तापकारकम् ॥

आग्नेये यत्र वृद्धिस्स्यात्तदग्निभयदं भवेत् ।
वर्द्धितं राक्षसे कोणे [1]वित्तक्षयकरं भवेत् ॥

वर्द्धापितं तु वायव्ये वातव्याधिप्रकोपकृत् ।
ईशाने सस्यहानिः[2] स्याद्वास्तौ संवर्द्धिते सदा ॥

ईशाने देवतागारं तथा शान्तिगृहं भवेत् ।
महानसं तथाऽऽग्नेये तत्पार्श्वे चोत्तरे जलम् ॥

गृहस्योपस्करं सर्वं नैर्ऋते स्थापयेद्बुधः ।
वर्चस्थानं बहिः कुर्यात्स्नानमण्डपमेव च ॥

धनधान्यं च वायव्ये कर्मशाला ततो बहिः ।
एवं वास्तुनिवेशः स्याद्गृहभर्तुः शुभावहः ॥

(दार्वाहरणविधिः)

अथाऽतः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि दार्वाहरणमुत्तमम्[3] ।
धनिष्ठापञ्चकं मुक्त्वा विष्ट्यादिकमतः परम् ॥

ततः सांवत्सरादिष्टे दिने यायाद्वनं बुधः ।
प्रथमं बलिपूजां च कुर्याद्वृक्षाय सर्वथा ॥

1 म. पु., p. 526, शिशुक्षयकरं भवेत्
2 म. पु., p. 526, ईशान्यां अन्नहानिस्स्यात्
3 म. पु., ch. 257, p. 527 ff.

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पूर्वोत्तरेण पतितं गृहदारु प्रशस्यते ।
अन्यथा न शुभं विद्याद्याम्यापरनिपातने ॥
क्षीरवृक्षोद्भवं दारु न गृहे विनिवेशयेत् ।
कृताधिवासं विहगैरनलानिलपीडितम् ॥
गजावभग्नं च तथा विद्युन्निर्घातपीडितम् ।
ऊर्ध्वशुष्कं तथा दारु भग्नं वक्रं तथैव च ॥
चैत्यदेवालयोत्पन्नं नदीसङ्गमजं तथा ।
श्मशानकूपनिलयं तडागादिसमुद्भवम् ॥
वर्जयेत्सर्वदा दारु यदीच्छेद्विपुलां श्रियम् ।
तथा कण्टकिनो वृक्षान्नीपनिम्बविभीतकान् ॥
श्लेष्मातकासारतरून् वर्जयेद्गृहकर्मणि ।
असनाशोकमधुकसर्जसालाः शुभावहाः ॥
चन्दनं पनसं धन्याः सुरदारुहरिद्रकाः ।
द्वाभ्यामेकेन वा कुर्यात्त्रिभिर्वा भवनं शुभम् ॥
बहुभिः कारितं यस्मादनेकभयदं भवेत् ।
एकैव शिंशपा धन्या श्रीपर्णी तिन्दुकी तथा ॥
एते नाऽन्यसमायुक्ताः कदाचिच्छुभदायकाः ।
स्यन्दनः पनसस्तद्वत्सरलार्जुनपद्मकाः ॥
एते नाऽन्यसमायुक्ताः वास्तुकार्ये शुभप्रदाः ।
तरुच्छेदे तथा पीते गोधां विद्यात् विचक्षणः ॥
माञ्जिष्ठवर्णे भेकः स्यान्नीले सर्पं विनिर्दिशेत् ।
अरुणे सरटं विद्यान्मुद्राभे शुकमादिशेत् ॥
कपिले मूषिकां विद्यात्खड्गाभे जलमादिशेत् ।

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एवंविधं समग्रं तु वर्जयेद्वास्तुकर्मणि ।
पूर्वच्छिन्नं तु गृह्णीयान्निमित्तशकुनैः शुभैः ॥

(ध्वजलक्षणम्)

व्यासेन गुणिते दैर्घ्ये अष्टभिर्वै हृते तथा ।
यच्छेषमायं तं विद्यादष्टभेदं वदामि वः ॥

ध्वजो धूमश्च सिंहश्च श्वा वृषः खर एव च ।
गजो ध्वाङ्क्षश्च पूर्वाद्याः करशेषा भवन्त्यमी ॥

ध्वजः सर्वमुखो धन्यः प्रत्यग्द्वारो विशेषतः ।
उदङ्मुखो भवेत्सिंहः प्राङ्मुखो वृषभो भवेत् ॥

दक्षिणाभिमुखो हस्ती सप्तभिः समुदाहृतः ।
एकेन ध्वज उद्दिष्टस्त्रिभिः सिंहः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

पञ्चभिर्वृषभः प्रोक्तो विकोणस्थांश्च वर्जयेत् ।
तमेवाऽष्टगुणं कृत्वा करराशिं विचक्षणः ॥

सप्तविंशहृते भागे दक्षं[1] विद्याद्विचक्षणः ।
अष्टभिर्भाजयेच्छेषं यच्छेषं स व्ययो मतः ॥

व्ययाधिक्यं न कुर्वीत यतो दोषकरं भवेत् ।
आयाधिके भवेच्छान्तिरित्याह भगवान् हरिः ॥

कृत्वाग्रतो द्विजवरानथ पूर्णकुम्भं
दध्यक्षताम्रदलपुष्पफलोपशोभम् ।
दत्वा हिरण्यवसनानि तथा द्विजेभ्यो
मङ्गल्यशान्तिनिलयाय गृहं विशेत ॥

1 म. पु., p. 527, ऋक्षं for दक्षम्

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गृह्योक्तहोमविधिना बलिकर्म कुर्यात्
प्रासादवास्तुशमने च विधिर्य उक्तः ।
सन्तर्प्पयेद्द्विजवरानथ भक्ष्यभोज्यैः
शुक्लाम्बरश्च भवनं प्रविशेत्सधूपम् ॥

'द्वाभ्यामेकेन वे'ति । यदा अनेकजातीयैर्वृक्षैर्गृहं कुर्यात्तदा द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिर्वा, न पुनः चतुष्पञ्चजातीयप्रभृतिभिरित्यर्थः । 'सरटः' कृकलासः । 'मुद्गाभे' मुद्गसमानवर्णे । 'अश्मन्तकः' पाषाणः । 'खड्गाभे' श्यामले । 'व्यासेन गुणिते दैर्घ्ये' इति । 'व्यासेन' विस्तारसंख्यया 'दैर्घ्ये गुणिते' आवर्त्तिते सति यावन्तो हस्ता भवन्ति तेष्वष्टकमष्टकं कृत्वा भागहारे कृते यदवशिष्यते स आयो भवति । स च ध्वजादिभेदेनाऽष्टधा भिद्यते । 'पूर्वाद्याः' पूर्वादिदिगष्टकावस्थिताः यथा क्रमेण । 'तमेव' पूर्वोक्तं व्यासगुणितं दैर्घ्यकरराशिम् । 'अष्टभिर्भाजिते दक्षे' अष्टभिर्भागैर्हृते नक्षत्रस्य हृते करसमूहे ।

बह्वृचगृह्ये[1]

अथाऽतो वास्तुपरीक्षाऽनूषरमविवदिष्णुभूमौषधिवनस्पतिवत् यस्मिन् कुशवीरणं प्रभूतं कण्टकिक्षीरिणस्तु समूलान् परिखायोद्वासयेत् । अपामार्गः शाकस्तिल्वकः परिव्याध इति चैतानि यत्र सर्वत आपो मध्यं समेत्य प्रदक्षिणं शमनीयं परीत्य प्राच्यः स्यन्देरन् अप्रपतन्त्यस्तत्सर्वं समृद्धं समवस्रवे भक्तशरणं कारयेत् । बह्वन्नं

1 आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र., II , 7–9

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हि भवति दक्षिणाप्रवणे सभां मापयेत्। साऽद्यूताह ? भवति युवानस्तस्यां कितवाः कलहिनः प्रमायुका भवन्ति यत्र सर्वत आयः प्रस्यन्देरन् सा स्वस्त्ययिन्यद्यूता च।

अथैतैर्वास्तु परीक्षेत । जानुमात्रं गर्तं खात्वा तैरेव पांसुभिः प्रतिपूरयेत्। अधिके प्रशस्तं समे वार्त्तं न्यूने गर्हितं अस्तमितेऽपां पूर्णं परिवासयेत्। सोदके प्रशस्तं आर्द्रे वार्त्तं शुष्के गर्हितं श्वेतं मधुरास्वादं सिकतोत्करं ब्राह्मणस्य लोहितं क्षत्रियस्य पीतं वैश्यस्य तत्सहस्रसीतं कृत्वा यथादिक् समचतुरस्रं मापयेत् । आयतचतुरस्रं वा। तच्छमीशाखयौदुम्बरशाखया वा शन्तातीयेन त्रिः प्रदक्षिणं परिव्रजन् प्रोक्षत्यविच्छिन्नया चोदकधारया "आपो हिष्ठा मयो भुव" इति तृचेन । वंशान्तरेषु शरणानि कारयेद्गर्तैष्ववकाः शीपालमित्यवधापयेन्न हास्य दाहुको भवतीति विज्ञायते। मध्यमस्थूणाया गर्तेऽवधाय प्रागग्रोदगग्रान् कुशानास्तीर्य्य व्रीहियवमतीरप आसेचये "दच्युताय भौमाय स्वाहे" त्यथैनामुच्छ्रीयमाणामनुमन्त्रयेते "हैव तिष्ठ निमिता तिल्विलास्त्वामिरावतीं मध्ये पोषस्य तिष्ठतीं आ त्वा प्रापन्नघायवः । ? आ त्वा कुमारस्तरुण आ वत्सो जायतां सह। आ त्वा परिश्रितः कुम्भ आ दध्नः कलशैरय" इति।

वंशमाधीयमान "मृतेन स्थूणामधिरोह वंश द्राघीय आयुः प्रतरं दधाना"इति। सदूर्वासु चतसृषु शिलासु मणिकं प्रतिष्ठापये"त्पृथिव्या अधिसम्भवेति अरङ्गरो वावदीति त्रेधा बद्धो वरत्रया इरामुह प्रशंसत्यनिरामपबाधता"मिति वाऽथाऽस्मिन्नप आ सेचय"त्यैतु राजा वरुणो रेवतीभिः

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अस्मिन् स्थाने तिष्ठतु मोदमानः इरां वहन्तो घृतमुक्षमाणा मित्रेण साकं सह संविशन्त्वि"त्यथैतच्छमयति व्रीहियवमतीभिरद्भिर्हिरण्यमवधाय शंतातीयेन त्रिः प्रदक्षिणं परिव्रजन् प्रोक्षत्यविच्छिन्नया चोदकधारया "आपो हि ष्ठा मयो भुव" इति तृचेन। मध्येऽगारस्य स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा "वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीह्यस्मानि"ति चतसृभिः प्रत्यृचं हुत्वाऽन्नं संस्कृत्य ब्राह्मणाय भोजयित्वा शिवं वास्तु शिवं वास्त्विति वाचयीत।

'अविवदिष्णु'यत्र विवदिष्णुर्विवदिता न विद्यते तत्। अविवादीरिति तु पाठे विवादरहितमित्यर्थः। 'भूमौषधिवनस्पतिवत्' बहुतरौषधिवनस्पत्युत्पत्तियोग्यम्। 'परिखाय' उत्पाट्य। 'परिव्याधो' राजवृक्षविशेषः। 'प्रदक्षिणं शयनीयं परीत्य' शयनगृहं प्रदक्षिणं यथा भवति तथा कृत्वा। 'प्रपतन्त्यः' प्रकर्षेण गच्छन्त्यः। 'सर्वसमृद्धं'सर्वैः पुत्रादिभिः सम्पूर्णम्। 'समवश्रवे'प्रणालिकादेशे। 'भक्तशरणं' पाकशाला। 'सभा' गृहस्थस्य समाजशाला सा। यदि दक्षिणाप्रवणे देशे क्रियते तदा द्यूतवती भवत्यतो न तथा कार्यंत्यर्थः। 'प्रमायुकाः' मरणशीलाः। 'वार्त्तं'नाऽत्युत्कृष्टं नाऽपकृष्टमित्यर्थः। 'सहस्रसीतं' अपरिमितकृष्टं। 'शंतातीयेन' "शन्न इन्द्राग्नी भवतेति"सूक्तेन। 'अवकाः' शम्बुकाः। 'शीपालाः' शैवालाः॥

इति वास्तुकर्मविधिः॥

1 Reproduced *verbatim* by वी. मि., pp. 234—236

2 ऋ. सं., V, 3, 28-30

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अथ राष्ट्रसंग्रहणम्

तत्र मनुः[1]

राष्ट्रस्य सङ्ग्रहे नित्यं विधानमिदमाचरेत् ।
सुसङ्गृहीतराष्ट्रे हि पार्थिवः सुखमेधते ॥
द्वयोस्त्रयाणां पञ्चानां मध्ये गुल्ममवस्थितम् ।
तथा ग्रामशतानां च कुर्याद्राष्ट्रस्य गुप्तये ॥
ग्रामस्याऽधिपतिं कुर्याद्दशग्रामाधिपं तथा ।
विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

'द्वयोः' ग्रामयोरित्यन्वयः । 'गुल्मः' पदातिसमूहः ।

आपस्तम्बः[2]

ग्रामेषु नगरेषु चाऽऽर्यान् शुचीन् सत्यशीलान् प्रजागुप्तये निदध्यात्[3] । तेषां पुरुषास्तथागुणा एव स्युः । सर्वतोयोजनं नगरं तस्करेभ्यो रक्ष्यम् । क्रोशो ग्रामेभ्यः ॥

1 VII, 113–115 ; cf. वी. मि., p. 248, 'सङ्ग्रहो' रक्षास्थानम् (वी. मि.,); 'सुसंगृहीतं' रक्षाविधानेन वशीकृतं परिपालितं वा येन स्वराष्ट्रं स पार्थिवः सुखमेधते ।" (मेधातिथिभाष्य) 'गुल्मो' रक्षितृपुरुषसमूहः । (मेधा)

2 2, 26, 4–7

3 'निदध्यात्' नियुञ्जीत । तेषां नियुक्तानां ये पुरुषाः तेऽपि 'तथागुणाः' आर्यादिगुणा एव स्युः । 'सर्वतः' सर्वासु दिक्षु । 'रक्ष्यं' रक्षणीयम् । (हरदत्तव्याख्या., p, 286)

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मनुः[1]

तेषां ग्राम्याणि कार्याणि पृथक्कार्याणि चैव हि ।
राज्ञोऽन्यः सचिवः स्निग्धस्तानि पश्येदतन्द्रितः ॥
नगरे नगरे चैव कुर्यात्सर्वार्थचिन्तकम् ।
उच्चैःस्थानं घोररूपं नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहम् ॥
स तानुपरिक्रामेत्सर्वानायुक्तकान् स्वयम् ।
तेषां वृत्ते परिणयेत्सम्यग्राष्ट्रेषु तच्चरैः ॥

[तथा]

ग्रामदोषान् समुत्पन्नान् ग्रामिकःशनकैस्स्वयम्[2] ।
शंसेद्ग्रामदशेशाय दशेशो विंशतीशिनै ॥
विंशतीशस्तु तत्सर्वं शतेशाय निवेदयेत् ।
शंसेद्ग्रामशतेशस्तु सहस्रपतये स्वयम् ॥
एवं सर्वं विधायेदमिति कर्तव्यमात्मनः[3] ।
युक्तश्चैवाऽप्रमत्तश्च परिरक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥
यानि राजप्रदेयानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः[4] ।

1 VII, 120. 122, cf. वी. मि., p. 248; I. O. omits this passage from Manu. 'पृथक्कार्याणि' परस्परकलहादीनि । (वी. मि.,) 'उच्चैस्थानं' कुलादिना महान्तम् । 'घोररूपं' भयानकम् (वी. मि.,) प्रतापवन्तम् (मेधा) । 'अनुपरिक्रामेत्' सबलेन पूरयेत् । (मेधा) 'परिणयेत्' परिजानीयात् (मेधा) प्रापयेत् (वी. मि.,)

2 VII, 116-117

3 VII, 142 ; 'बुद्ध्यस्खलनमप्रमत्ता' (मेधा.)

4 VII, 118-119, यानि राज्ञे प्रदेयानि अन्नादीनि तानि वृत्यर्थं ग्रामाधिपतिः गृह्णीयात्, न तु आब्दिकं करम् ।आब्दिकं तु करमास्तद्वारा राजैव

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अन्नपानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ॥
दशी कुलं तु भुञ्जीत विंशी पञ्चकुलानि च[1] ।
ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षः सहस्राधिपतिः पुरम् ॥

'अनुपरिक्रमेत्' यदा न्यायिभिस्ते नियुक्ता अभिभूयन्ते, तदा तान् स्वबलेन पूरयेदित्यर्थः । 'परिणयेत्' प्रापयेत् । कुलं ग्रामैकदेशः पाटकाख्यः[2] ।

विष्णुः[3]

ग्रामदोषाणां ग्रामाध्यक्षः परिहारं कुर्यात् । अशक्तो देशाध्यक्षाय निवेदयेत् । सोऽप्यशक्तो देशाध्यक्षाय । देशाध्यक्षोऽपि सर्वात्मना दोषमुच्छिन्द्यात् ॥

शङ्खलिखितौ

वाहनयोधानां सततमन्वीक्षणम् । प्रतिमासं द्विसौववर्णिकी वृत्तिः । षाण्मास्यस्मरणं चातुर्मास्यं वा । स्वर्याते-

गृह्णीयात् । तदुक्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे : "सांवत्सरिकमाप्तैश्च राष्ट्रादाहारयेद्बलिमि"ति । (वी. मि., p. 251)

1 This śloka is attributed by वी. मि., p. 251, to विष्णुधर्मोत्तर

2 वी. मि., p. 251 observes "कुलं ग्रामैकदेशः पादुकाख्य इति कल्पतरुः"

3 3, 12–15; the passages from विष्णु and शङ्खलिखित are omitted by I. O. but are reproduced in वी. मि., p. 251 ; A. S. B. omits the first two sentences of the passage from विष्णु

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षु दानमनुक्रोशः विदितेष्वनुप्रदानं कुलचारित्रशीलविद्या-
लक्षणाधिकेषु सम्मानं प्रयुञ्जीत ।

'स्वर्यातेषु दानमि'त्यादि । राजकार्येण मृतेषु योधेषु तत्पुत्रादिभ्यो दानं दया च राज्ञा विधातव्या । [1]प्रसिद्धेषु तु योधेषु दानवेतनादधिकमपि वस्त्रादि देयमित्यर्थः ।

मनुः[2]

राजा कर्मसु युक्तानां स्त्रीणां प्रेष्यजनस्य च ।
प्रत्यहं कल्पयेद्वृत्तिं स्थानकर्मानुरूपतः ॥
पणा देयाऽवकृष्टस्य षड् तूत्कृष्टस्य भक्तकम् ।
षाण्मासिकस्तथाऽऽच्छादो धान्यद्रोणस्तु मासिकः[3] ॥

'षड् पणा' इत्यन्वयः । 'आच्छादः' आच्छादनवस्त्रम् ।

बृहस्पतिः[3]

गुणवानिति यः प्रोक्तः ख्यापितो जनसंसदि ।
कथं तेनैव वक्त्रेण निर्गुणः परिकथ्यते ॥
तस्मात्प्रभुत्वं वृत्तिं च निर्दोषस्य न चालयेत् ।
अनवस्था प्रसङ्गस्स्यान्नश्येतोपग्रहस्तथा ॥

'उपग्रहः' परिग्रहः ।

1 'स्वर्यातेषु' मृतेषु । 'विदितेषु' युद्धादौ कृतकार्यतया प्रसिद्धेषु (वी. मि., p. 252)
2 VII, 125-126
3 वी. मि., p 252 : 'द्रोणः' आढकचतुष्टयम्

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सम्यङ्‌निविष्टदेशस्तु कृतदुर्गस्तु शास्त्रतः ।
कण्टकोद्धरणे नित्यमातिष्ठेद्यत्नमुत्तमम् ॥
यथोद्धरति निर्दाता कक्षं धान्यं च रक्षति ।
तथा रक्षेन्नृपो राष्ट्रं हन्याच्च परिपन्थिनः ॥
राष्ट्रेषु रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः ।
भृत्या भवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

'निर्दाता' लविता[1] । 'कक्षं' तृणम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्थेभ्यो विशेषतः[3] ॥

मनुः[4]

मोहाद्राजा स्वराष्ट्रं यः कर्षयत्यनवेक्षया ।
सोऽचिराद्भ्रश्यते स्वाम्याज्जीविताच्च सबान्धवः ॥
शरीरकर्षणात्प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते प्राणिनां यथा ।
तथा राज्ञामपि प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रकर्षणात् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 253 adds "'निर्दाता' प्ररुढक्षेत्रमध्यस्थिततृणादिलविता ।

2 I, 336

3 मिताक्षरा reads कायस्थैः and explains : 'कायस्थाः' लेखकाः गणकाश्च । तेषां राजवल्लभतया अतिमायाविकत्वाच्च दुर्निवारत्वात् । Aparārka equates कायस्थाः with कराधिकृताः

4 VII, 111-112

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कात्यायनः[1]

श्रोत्रिया विधवा बाला दुर्बलाश्च कुटुम्बिनः ।
एते राजबला राज्ञा रक्षितव्याः प्रयत्नतः ॥
अनाथस्य नृपो नाथस्त्वगृहस्य नृपो गृहम् ।
अपुत्रस्य नृपः पुत्रो ह्यपितुः पार्थिवः पिता ॥
यत्र कर्माणि नृपतिः स्वयं पश्यति धर्मतः ।
तत्र साधुसमाचारा निवसेयुः सुखं प्रजाः[2] ॥

मनुः[3]

ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि ।
सर्वस्याऽस्य यथान्यायं कर्तव्यं परिरक्षणम् ॥

'ब्राह्मं संस्कारं' ब्राह्मणेन क्रियमाणमभिषेकमित्यर्थः[4] ।

1 Not found in Kane's कात्यायन

2 *Ibid*, V, 14

3 VII, 2

4 'ब्रह्म' वेदः । तत्कृतसंस्कारो 'ब्राह्मः' । उपनयनन्तु ब्रह्मग्रहणार्थत्वात् ब्राह्ममिति युक्तम् । गर्भाधानादिस्मृतिशास्त्रदृष्टचत्वारिंशत्संस्कारान् । एतेन क्षत्रिय एव राज्याधिकारीति सूचितम् । क्षत्रियाभावे तदतिदेशोऽपि ग्राह्यः । अन्यथा प्रजालोपस्स्यादिति भावः । 'सर्वस्य' करदस्य दीनानाथेश्च । 'अस्य' इति स्वविषयवासिनां यथास्वं जनपदपुरनिर्देशः । 'यथान्यायं' न्यायः शास्त्रं धर्मशास्त्ररूपं नार्थशास्त्रं औशानसादि प्रणीतम् । दुःखत्राणे 'परिरक्षा' । शास्त्रातिक्रमे चाऽदृष्टं दुःखम् ॥ (मेधातिथिः)

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कात्यायनः[1]

प्रजानां रक्षणं नित्यं कण्टकानां च शोधनम् ।
द्विजानां पूजनं चैव एतदर्थं कृतो नृपः ॥

बृहस्पतिः

तत्प्रजापालनं प्रोक्तं त्रिविधं न्यायवेदिभिः ।
परचक्राच्चौरभयाद्बलिनोऽन्यायवेदिनः ॥

परानीकस्तेन भयमुपायैः शमयेन्नृपः ।
बलवत्परिभूतानां प्रत्यहं न्यायदर्शनैः ॥

रक्षन् धर्मेण भूतानि राजवध्यांश्च घातयन् ।
यजतेऽहरहर्यज्ञैः सहस्रशतदक्षिणैः ॥

यदधीते यद्यजते यज्जुहोति यदर्चति ।
तस्य षड्भागभाग्राजा सम्यग्भवति रक्षणात् ॥

शंखः[2]

न व्रतैर्नोपवासेन न च यज्ञैः पृथग्विधैः ।
राजा स्वर्गमवाप्नोति प्राप्नोति परिपालनात् ॥

यमः[3]

वानप्रस्थाः परिव्राजः श्रोत्रियाश्चाऽऽहिताग्नयः ।
षड्भागस्य प्रदातारो नैते राज्ञो हिरण्यदाः ॥

'षड्भागस्य' पुण्यषड्भागस्य ।

1 Kane, v. 15 ; वी. मि., p. 254
2 वी. मि., p. 255
3 वी. मि., p. 255

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मनुः[1]

सर्वतो धर्मषड्भागो राज्ञो भवति रक्षणात् ।
अधर्मादपि षड्भागो भवत्यस्य ह्यरक्षतः ॥

योऽरक्षन् बलिमादत्ते करशुल्कं च पार्थिवः ।
प्रतिभागं च दण्डं च स सद्यो नरकं व्रजेत् ॥

अरक्षितारं राजानं बलिषड्भागहारिणम् ।
तमाहुः सर्वलोकस्य समग्रमलहारकम् ॥

अनपेक्षितमर्यादं नास्तिकं विप्रलोपकम् ।
अरक्षितारम(त्तारं) नृपं विद्यादधोगतिम् ॥

यो हृत्वा गोसहस्राणि नृपो दद्यादरक्षिता ।
स शब्दमात्रफलभाग्राजा भवति तस्करः[2] ॥

'विप्रलोपकं' विच्छेदकं वृत्त्यादीनामिति शेषः । 'अ-त्तारं' भोक्तारम्[3] ।

इति राष्ट्रसङ्ग्रहणम् ॥

1 VIII, 304, 307, 308, 309.

2 Not found in printed copies of मनुस्मृति

3 Reproduced by वी. मि., p. 255

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८

अथ कोशः

तत्र महाभारते[1]

अधनं दुर्बलं प्राहुर्धनेन बलवान् भवेत् ।
सर्वं बलवतः पथ्यं सर्वं तरति कोशवान् ॥

अर्थाद्धर्मश्च कामश्च स्वर्गश्चैव नराधिप ।
प्राणयात्राऽपि लोकस्य विनाऽर्थेन न सिध्यति ॥

नाऽधनो धर्मकार्याणि यथावदनुतिष्ठति ।
धनाद्धि धर्मः स्रवति शैलादिव महत्सरः ॥

अधनेनाऽर्थकामेन चेतुं धर्मो न शक्यते ।
अर्थैरर्थाः निबध्यन्ते गजैरिव महागजाः ॥

अर्थेभ्यो हि प्रवृद्धेभ्यः सम्भृतेभ्य इतस्ततः ।
क्रियाः सर्वाः प्रवर्त्तन्ते पर्वतेभ्यः इवाऽऽपगाः ॥

कोशाक्षपटलं यस्य कोशवृद्धिकरैर्नरैः ।
पात्रभूतैश्च सततं धार्यते स नृपोत्तमः ॥

यो राजकोशं नश्यन्तमाचक्षीत नराधिपे ।
श्रोतव्यं तस्य च रहो रक्ष्यश्चाऽमात्यतो भवेत् ॥

'चेतुं' सञ्चेतुम्[2] ।

1 वी. मि., p. 257 prefixes to this passage from महाभारत twenty ślokas from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर

2 Borrowed by वी. मि., p. 259

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मनुः[1]

(8. 348)

क्रयविक्रयमद्धानं भक्तं च सपरिव्ययम् ।
योगक्षेमं च सम्प्रेक्ष्य वणिजो दापयेत्करान्[2] ॥
यथा फलेन युज्येत राजा कर्त्ता च कर्मणाम् ।
तथा वीक्ष्य नृपो राष्ट्रे कल्पयेत्सततं करान्[3] ॥
यथाल्पाल्पमदन्त्याद्यं वार्योकोवत्सषट्पदाः[4] ।
तथाऽल्पाल्पो ग्रहीतव्यो राष्ट्राद्राज्ञाऽऽब्दिकः करः ॥
पञ्चाशद्भाग आदेयो राज्ञा पशुहिरण्ययोः ।
धान्यानामष्टमो भागः षष्ठो द्वादश एव च ॥
आदद्याचाऽथ षड्भागं द्रुमांसमधुसर्पिषाम्[5] ।
गन्धौषधिरसानां च पुष्पमूलफलस्य च ॥

1 VII, 127–132

2 "कियता मूल्येन क्रीतमेतत्, कियच्च विक्रीणीयमानं ? लभते, कियता च कालेन विक्रीयते, कियत् प्रतिभाविन नश्यति, अथ न, इत्येवमादि-रूपक्रयविक्रयपरीक्षा । 'अध्वानं' चिराचिरगमनप्राप्यतां, 'भक्तं' ओद-नादिमूलम्, 'परिव्ययः' तदुकरपणं सर्पिस्सूपशाकादि धनादि च । 'योगक्षेमं' अरण्ये कान्तारे वा गच्छतः राजभयं चोरभयं निश्चौरता वा इत्यादि । एतदपेक्ष्य वणिग्भ्यः करा आदातव्याः" । (मेधातिथिः) Both मेधा., and वी. मि., p. 260 suggest the reading वणिग्भिः for वणिजः

3 'क्षीणकृषेः न्यूनः करो गृहीतव्यः इत्येवमर्थमेतत्' । (मेधा.,)

4 'वार्योकौसः' जलौकसः । 'षट्पदाः' भ्रमराः । यथा ते स्वल्पमाददानाः परिपुष्टा भवन्ति तथा राज्ञा मूलोच्छेदो न कर्तव्यः । (मेधातिथिः)

5 Printed text and वी. मि., p. 261, read आ-ददीत च

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पत्रशाकतृणानां च कर्मणां वैणवस्य च[1] ।
मृण्मयानां च भाण्डानां सर्वस्याऽश्ममयस्य च[2] ॥

तथा[3]

चतुर्थमाददानो हि क्षत्रियो भागमापदि ।
प्रजा रक्षन् परं शक्त्या किल्बिषात्प्रतिमुच्यते ॥
स्वधर्मो विजये तस्य न भये स्यात्पराङ्मुखः ।
शस्त्रेण वैश्यान्रक्षित्वा धर्म्यमाहारयेद्बलिम् ॥
धान्येऽष्टमं विशां शुल्कं विंशं कार्षापणावरम्[4] ।
कर्मोपकरणाः शूद्राः कारवः शिल्पिनस्तथा ॥

'अदन्ति' भक्षयन्ति । 'आद्यं' भक्षणीयम् । 'वार्यौकसः' जलौकसः । 'द्रु' शब्देन वृक्ष उच्यते । 'आपदि' कोशशून्यत्वे[5] ।

बृहस्पतिः[6]

दशाष्टषष्ठं नृपतेर्भागं दद्यात्कृषीवलः ।
खिलाद्वर्षाद्वसन्ताच्च कृष्यमाणाद्यथाक्रमम् ॥

1 मेधातिथि reads चर्मणां वैदलस्य च
2 विष्णुधर्मोत्तर has the identical passage as *Manu samhita*, and both are cited by वी. मि., p. 261
3 X, 118–120
4 Up to the last kārśapāṇa.
5 वी. मि., p. 260
6 *Ibid*,

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देशस्थित्या बलिं दद्युर्भूतं षण्मासवार्षिकम् ।
एष धर्मः समाख्यातः कीनाशानां पुरातनः ॥

'भूतं' यथाव्यवस्थितम् । 'कीनाशः' कृषीवलः ।

विष्णुः[1]

[2]प्रजाभ्यो बल्यर्थं [संवत्सरेण] धान्यतः षष्ठमंशमादद्यात् । सर्वसस्येभ्यश्च द्विकं शतं पशुहिरण्ययोर्वस्त्रेभ्यश्च । मांसमधुघृतौषधिगन्धपुष्पमूलरसशाकपत्राजिनमृद्भाण्डाश्मभाण्डवैणवेभ्यः । षष्ठभागं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् । ते हि राज्ञां धर्मकरदाः[3] ।

कात्यायनः[4]

भूस्वामी तु स्मृतो राजा नाऽन्यद्द्रव्यस्य सर्वदा ।
तत्फलस्य हि षड्भागं प्राप्नुयान्नाऽन्यथैव तु[5] ॥
भूतानां तन्निवासित्वात्स्वामित्वं तेन कीर्तितम् ।
तत्क्रियाबलिषड्भागं शुभाशुभनिमित्तजम् ॥

1 3, 22–27

2 I. O. and A. S. B. are both defective in this passage.

3 'करविषयेऽपि राज्ञो धर्मं निजाचारसम्पन्नं करत्वेन ददति' (केशववैजयन्ती).

4 Omitted in I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि.; Kane, vv. 16–17

5 Udaipur Ms. repeats these lines.

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मनुः[1]

म्रियमाणोऽप्याददीत न राजा श्रोत्रियात्करम् ।
न च क्षुधाऽस्य संसीदेच्छ्रोत्रियो विषये वसन् ॥ p. 133

आपस्तम्बः[2]

अकरः श्रोत्रियः सर्ववर्णानां च स्त्रियः कुमारश्च प्राग्व्यञ्जनेभ्यः । ये च विद्यार्थो वसन्ति तपस्विनश्च ये धर्मपराः । शूद्रश्च पादावनेक्ता अन्धमूकबधिरा रोगाविष्टाश्च । ये व्यर्था द्रव्यपरिग्रहैः ।

'व्यञ्जनानि' श्मश्रुप्रभृतीनि । 'व्यर्था द्रव्यपरिग्रहैः' अर्थसङ्ग्रहे विगतप्रयोजनाः ।

मनुः[3]

[अन्धो[4] जडः पीठसर्पी सप्तत्याः स्थविरश्च यः । (p. 472)

1 VII, 133 ; omitted in A. S. B. ; cf. वी. मि., p. 272

2 cf. वी. मि., p. 293 ; 2, 26, 10–17 श्रोत्रियः करं न दाप्यः । सर्ववर्णानां स्त्रियः अकराः । वर्णग्रहणात् प्रतिलोमादिस्त्रियो दाप्याः । 'व्यञ्जनानि' श्मश्र्वादीनि । यावत्तानि नोत्पद्यन्ते तावदकराः । विद्यामुद्दिश्य ये गुरुषु वसन्ति ते जातव्यञ्जना अपि असमाप्तवेदा अकराः । 'तपस्विनः' कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणादिप्रवृत्ताः । 'धर्मपराः' अफलकाङ्क्षिणः नित्यनैमित्तिककर्मनिरताः । धर्मपरा इति किम् ? ये अभिचारकामा मन्त्रसिद्धये तपस्तप्यन्ते ते अकरा मा भूवन्निति । यस्त्रैवर्णिकानां 'पादावनेक्ता' स शूद्रोऽप्यकरः । 'ये' च परिव्राजकादयः, 'द्रव्यपरिग्रहैः व्यर्था' निष्प्रयोजनाः, शास्त्रतो येषां द्रव्यपरिकरः प्रतिषिद्धः तेऽपि अकराः । (हरदत्तव्या., pp, 287–288)

3 VIII, 394

4 [ ] Words in brackets missing in the Mss.

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श्रोत्रियेषु प्रकुर्वंश्च न दाप्यः केनचित्करम् ॥

'पीठसर्प्पी' पङ्गुः[1] ।

वसिष्ठः[2]

नदीकक्षवनदाहशैलोपभोगाः विष्कराः] स्युः । तदुपजीविनो वा दद्युः । प्रतिमासं [उद्वाहकरं तु आगमयेत] ।

'वनदाहः' दग्धवनम् । 'तदुपजीविनः' तानेव ये उपजीवन्ति । सैव तेषां वृत्तिः ।

गौतमः[3]

शिल्पिनो मासि मास्येकं कर्म कुर्युः । एतेनाऽऽत्मोपजीविनो व्याख्याताः नौचक्रिवन्तश्च । भक्तं तेभ्योऽपि दद्यात् ।

'शिल्पिनो' लोहकारादयः । मास्येकैकमहरात्मानुरूपं राज्ञः कर्म कुर्युः, नाऽन्यत्तेभ्यो ग्राह्यम् । 'आत्मोपजीविनः' भारवाहनटनर्तकादयः । 'नौचक्रिवन्तः' नौशकटव्यवहारिणः[4] ।

1 वी. मि., p. 272

2 XIX, 26–28 ; वी. मि., p. 274

3 10, 30–33; वी. मि., p. 275

4 cf. मस्करिभाष्य., p. 165, which *repeats* the explanations in the text, and adds–'च'करात् वन्यमृगघातकादयः । बहुवचनात् वर्धकिनापितादयः ।

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मनुः

नोच्छिन्द्यादात्मनो मूलं परेषां चाऽतितृष्णया ।
उच्छिन्दन्नात्मनो मूलमात्मानं तांश्च नाशयेत् ॥

करशुल्कादेरग्रहणं 'आत्ममूलच्छेदः' । यथोचितादधिकग्रहणं 'परमूलच्छेदः' ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

अन्यायेन नृपो राष्ट्रात्स्वकोशं योऽभिवर्द्धयेत् ।
सोऽचिराद्विगतश्रीको नाशमेति सबान्धवः ॥

प्रजापीडनसन्तापात्समुद्भूतो हुताशनः ।
राज्ञः कुलं श्रियं प्राणान्नाऽदग्ध्वा विनिवर्तते[3] ॥

कात्यायनः[4]

अन्यायेन हि यो राष्ट्रात्करं दण्डं च पार्थिवः ।
सस्यभागं च शुल्कं चाऽप्याददीत स पापभाक् ॥

मनुः[5]

अनादेयं नाऽऽददीत परिक्षीणोऽपि पार्थिवः । (P. 418-19)
न चादेयं समृद्धोऽपि सूक्ष्ममप्यर्थमुत्सृजेत् ॥

1 VII, 139 ; वी. मि., p. 275

2 1, 340–341; वी. मि., p. 276

3 मिताक्षरा follows the reading प्राणांश्चादग्ध्वा न निवर्तते । Aparārka adopts the reading in the text.

4 Kane, v. 75 ; वी. मि., p. 276

5 VII, 170–172 ; वी. मि., p. 275

Chap. VII

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अनादेयस्य चाऽऽदानादादेयस्य च वर्जनात् ।
दौर्बल्यं ख्याप्यते राज्ञः स प्रेत्येह विनश्यति ॥

स्वादानाद्वर्णसंसर्गाद् दुर्बलानां च रक्षणात् ।
बलं सञ्जायते राज्ञः स प्रेत्येह च वर्द्धते ॥

'वर्णसंसर्गादिति' वर्णानां ब्राह्मणादीनां वर्णैरेव समानजातीयैर्विवाहादिसम्बन्धत्वेन वर्णसङ्करो न जायत इत्यर्थः ।

कात्यायनः[1]

एवं प्रवर्तते यस्तु लोभं त्यक्त्वा नराधिपः ।
तस्य पुत्राः प्रजायन्ते राष्ट्रं कोशश्च वर्द्धते ॥

महाभारते[2]

धर्मार्जितो महान् कोशो यस्य स्यात्पृथिवीपतेः ।
सोऽस्त्यल्पपरिवारोऽपि पृथिवीमधितिष्ठति ॥

इति कोशः ॥

1 Kane, v. 18 ; वी. मि., p. 276

2 Name omitted in Udaipur Ms ; वी. मि., p. 276

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अथ दण्डः

तत्र महाभारते

प्रकाशश्चाऽप्रकाशश्च दण्डोऽत्र परिकल्पितः ।
प्रकाशोऽष्टविधस्तत्र गुह्यश्च बलवत्तरः ॥
रथा नागा हयाश्चैव पादाताश्चैव[1] भारत ।
विष्टिर्नाविचाराश्चैव दैशिका इति चाऽष्टमः ॥
अनुरक्तेन हृष्टेन पुष्टेन च महीपते ।
स्वल्पेनाऽपि हि सैन्येन महीं जयति पार्थिवः ॥

'विष्टिः' बलात्कारेण आकृष्टः कर्मकरः । 'दैशिकाः' देशे भवाः पुरुषाः[2] ॥

इति दण्डः ॥

1 Udaipur Ms. wrongly reads पादपश्चैव
2 Copied by वी. मि., p. 277

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अथ मित्रम्

तत्र मनुः[1]

हिरण्यभूमिसम्प्राप्त्या पार्थिवो न तथैधते ।
यथा मित्रं ध्रुवं लब्ध्वा कृशमप्यायतिक्षमम् ॥
धर्मज्ञं च कृतज्ञं च तुष्टप्रकृतिमेव च ।
अनुरक्तं स्थिरारम्भं लघुमित्रं प्रशस्यते ॥ p.370

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

हिरण्यभूमिलाभेभ्यो मित्रलब्धिर्वरा यतः ।
अतो यतेत तत्प्राप्त्यै रक्षेत्सत्यं समाहितः ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे

पितृपैतामहं मित्रं सामन्ताश्च[3] तथा रिपोः ।
कृत्रिमं च महाभाग त्रिविधं मित्रमुच्यते ॥

महाभारते[4]

वेदितव्यानि मित्राणि बोद्धव्याश्चाऽपि शत्रवः ।

1 VII, 208–209 ; वी. मि., p. 277

2 I. 352 ; वी. मि., p. 277; I. O. omits the next *six* quotations.

3 वी. मि., p. 277 has अमित्रं च तथा रिपोः इति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपाठः ।

4 वी. मि., p. 278

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एतत्सुसूक्ष्मं लोकेऽस्मिन् दृश्यते प्राज्ञसंमतम् ॥
योऽस्मिन् जीवितस्याऽर्थे पश्यन् पीडां न जीवति ।
स तस्य तावन्मित्रं स्याद्यावत्तस्माद्विपर्ययः ॥
नाऽस्ति मैत्री स्थिरा नाम न च ध्रुवमसौहृदम् ।
अर्थयुक्त्याऽभिजायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥
मित्रं च शत्रुतामेति कस्मिंश्चित्कालपर्य्यये ।
शत्रुश्च मित्रतामेति स्वार्थस्तु बलवत्तरः ॥

व्यासः

न कश्चित्कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित्कस्यचिद्रिपुः ।
सामर्थ्ययोगाज्जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[1]

स्वाम्यमात्यजना दुर्गङ्कोशो दण्डस्तथैव च[2] ।
मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयः राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते ॥

मनुः[3]

स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोशदण्डौ सुहृत्तथा । (8.553)
सप्तप्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताङ्गं राष्ट्रमुच्यते ॥
सप्तानां प्रकृतीनां च राज्यस्याऽऽसां यथाक्रमम् ।

1 वी. मि., p. 277

2 मिताक्षरा reads : स्वाम्यमात्या जनो दुर्गं and राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते ; Aparārka has जना दुर्गः (1, 353) ; वी. मि., p. 278

3 IX, 294–297; वी. मि., p. 278

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पूर्वं पूर्वं गुरुतरं जानीयाद्व्यसनं नृपः[1] ॥
सप्ताङ्गस्याऽस्य[2] राज्यस्य विष्टब्धस्य त्रिदण्डवत् ।
अन्योन्यगुणवैशेष्यान्न किञ्चिदतिरिच्यते ॥
तेषु तेषु हि कृत्येषु तत्तदङ्गं विशिष्यते ।
येन तत्स्थाप्यते कार्यं तत्तस्मिन् श्रेष्ठमुच्यते ॥

'व्यसनं' व्यसनकारणं दोषवदिति शेषः[3] ॥

इति मित्रम् ॥

1 Lacunae in I. O. ends here ; printed text reads व्यसनं महत्

2 *Ibid*, सप्ताङ्गस्येह

3 वी. मि., appropriates the whole of this section and does not add a word but re-arranges the quotations.

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अथ राजपुत्ररक्षा

तत्र मत्स्यपुराणे[1]

राजपुत्रस्य रक्षा च कर्तव्या पृथिवीक्षिता।
आचार्य्यश्चाऽपि कर्त्तव्यो नित्ययुक्तैश्च रक्षिभिः॥
धर्मकामार्थसूत्राणि[2] धनुर्वेदं च शिक्षयेत्।
रथे च कुञ्जरे चैनं व्यायामं कारयेत्सदा॥
शिल्पानि शिक्षयेच्चैनमाप्तैर्मिथ्याप्रियं वदेत्[3]।
शरीररक्षाव्याजेन रक्षिणोऽस्य नियोजयेत्॥
न चाऽस्य सङ्गो दातव्यः [4]क्षुद्रलुब्धावमानितैः।
तथा च विनयेदेनं यथा यौवनगो मुखे[5]॥
इन्द्रियैर्नाऽपकृष्येत सतां मार्गात् सुदुर्गमात्।
गुणाधानमशक्यं तु यस्य कर्तुं स्वभावतः॥
बन्धनं तस्य कर्तव्यं गुप्तदेशे [6]सुखान्वितम्।

1 म. पु., ch. 220; वी. मि., p. 315

2 म. पु., and वी. मि., reads शास्त्राणि for सूत्राणि

3 म. पु., p. 468 and वी. मि., p. 315 read नाप्तैः मिथ्याप्रियं वदेत्

4 म. पु., and वी. मि., reads क्रुद्ध for क्षुद्र

5 म. पु., गोचरे for गो मुखे

6 वी. मि., p. 315 reads शुभान्वितम्, but adds 'सुखान्विते' इति पाठे देशविशेषणं तत्

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अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीर्यते ॥
अधिकारेषु सर्वेषु विनीतं विनियोजयेत् ।
आदौ स्वल्पे ततः पश्चात्क्रमेण च महत्स्वपि ॥

'यौवनगः' यौवनप्राप्तः । 'मुखे' आदौ[1] ।

महाभारते[2]

नैव स्वैररिभिर्वाऽपि ग्रस्यते पुत्रवान्नृपः ।
तस्माद्राजा सदा पुत्रं संरक्षेच्छिक्षयेत च ॥
अमात्यैरात्मसदृशैः राजपुत्रस्य रक्षणम् ।
चारैश्च विविधोपायैः प्रविधेयं पृथग्विधैः ॥

'स्वकीयैः' सामन्तादिभी रक्षणं प्रविधेयमित्यन्वयः ॥

इति राजपुत्ररक्षा[3] ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 315
2 वी. मि., p. 316
3 Section completely appropriated by वी. मि., pp. 315–316

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अथ मन्त्रः[1]

तत्र मनुः[2]

उत्थाय पश्चिमे यामे कृतशौचः समाहितः ।
हुत्वाऽग्निं [3]ब्राह्मणांश्चार्च्य प्रविशेत्स शुभां सभाम् ॥
तत्राऽऽस्थिताः प्रजाः सर्वाः प्रतिनन्द्य विसर्जयेत् ॥

श्रीरामायणे[4]

त्रिविधाः पुरुषा लोके उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।
तेषां तु समेवतानां गुणदोषं वदाम्यहम् ॥
मन्त्रिभिऽर्मन्त्रसंयुक्तैः समर्थैर्मन्त्रनिश्चये ।
मित्रैर्वाऽपि समानार्थैर्बान्धवैश्चातिवाहितैः ॥
मन्त्रिभिर्मन्त्रायित्वा यः कर्म्मारम्भे प्रवर्त्तते ।
तत्रैव कुरुते यत्नं तमाहुः पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥
एकोऽर्थं विमृशत्येको धर्मे प्रकुरुते मतिम् ।
एकः कार्याणि कुरुते तमाहुर्मध्यमं नरम् ॥
गुणदोषावनिश्चित्य त्यक्तधर्मव्यपाश्रयः ।

1 वी. मि., pp. 306-312

2 VII, 145-6; name supplied by A. S. B.

3 From this upto the last *Pāda* of the verse of याज्ञवल्क्य below missing in I. O.

4 युद्धकाण्ड., 6, 6-15

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करिष्यामीत्युपेक्षेत यः कार्यं स नराधमः ॥

यथैव पुरुषा नित्यमुत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।
एवं मन्त्रोऽपि विज्ञेयः उत्तमाधममध्यमः ॥

ऐकमत्यमुपागत्य शास्त्रदृष्टेन चक्षुषा ।
मन्त्रिणां मन्त्रनियमः तमाहुर्मन्त्रमुत्तमम् ॥

बह्व्यस्तु मतयो भूत्वा मन्त्रिणामर्थसिद्धये ।
पुनर्यत्रैकतां यान्ति स मन्त्रो मध्यमः स्मृतः ॥

अन्योन्यमतिमास्थाय यत्र सम्प्रतिपद्यते[1] ।
न चैकमत्ये श्रेषोऽस्ति स मन्त्रोऽधम उच्यते ॥

अर्थानर्थौ हि यत्रोभौ संशयश्च परीक्ष्यते[2] ।
स मन्त्र इति विज्ञेयः शेषस्तु खलु विक्रमः ॥

'समानार्थैः' समानप्रयोजनैः[3] ।

मनुः[4]

गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य प्रासादं वा रहोगतः ।
अरण्ये निःशलाके वा मन्त्रयेदाविभावितः[5] ॥

यस्य मन्त्रं न जानन्ति समागम्य पृथग्जनाः ।
[स कृत्स्नां पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते कोशहीनोऽपि पार्थिवः ॥

1 'प्रतिभाष्यते' (Mylapore *ed.* p. 675)

2 Missing in Mylapore *edn.*

3 Borrowed by वी. मि., p. 307

4 VII, 147-148

5 वी. मि., p. 308 omits the fist *śloka* here.

[ ] Portions between asterisks missing in I. O.

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'निःशलाके' निर्जने ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः[1]

मन्त्रमूलं यतो राज्यमतो मन्त्रं सुरक्षितम् ।
कुर्याद्यथाऽस्य न] विदुः कर्मणामाफलोदयात् ॥

मनुः[2]

जडमूकान्धबधिरांस्तैर्यग्योनान्वयोतिगान् ।
स्त्रीम्लेच्छव्याधितव्यङ्गान्मन्त्रकाले प्रसेधयेत् ॥
निन्दन्त्यवमता मन्त्रं[3] तैर्यग्योनास्तथैव च ।
स्त्रियश्चैव विशेषेण तस्मात्तास्वादृतो भवेत् ॥

'तैर्य्यग्योनाः' तिर्यग्योनिभवाः शुकसारिकादयः ।

महाभारते[4]

मन्त्रभेदस्य यत्प्राज्ञो द्वाराणीमानि कल्पयेत् ।
अथ सम्पत्तिकामश्च रक्षेदेतानि नित्यशः ॥
मदं स्वप्नमवज्ञानमाकारं चाऽऽत्मसम्भवम् ।
दुष्टामात्येषु विश्रम्भं दूतश्चाऽकुशलं तथा ॥
मन्त्रनिश्चयतत्वज्ञं षाड्गुण्यगुणवेदिनः ।

1 I, 344 ; वी. मि., p. 308. Printed text reads तस्मान्मन्त्रं
2 XI, 52 ; VII, 149 ff. ; वी. मि., p. 309
3 वी. मि., p. 309, has भिन्दन्ति अवमता, which is the reading of the printed मनुस्मृति (Chowkh. *ed.*)
4 वी. मि., p. 310

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शक्तान् कुलोचितान् भक्ताननाक्षारितपूर्वकान् ॥
नीतिज्ञान् व्यवहारज्ञानितिहासार्थकोविदान् ।
इङ्गितज्ञानुपायज्ञान् शूरान् वीरान् कुलोद्गतान् ॥
सर्वकार्येषु निपुणान् इष्वस्त्रविधिपारगान् ।
दुर्गयन्त्रविधानज्ञान् धर्मशास्त्रार्थपारगान् ॥
अक्षुद्रान् क्षमिणः प्राज्ञाननागतविधायिनः ।
आयत्यां प्रतिकारज्ञांस्तदात्वे दृढनिश्चयान् ॥
द्विषन्मित्राद्युदासीनभावज्ञान् संशितव्रतान् ।
स्वभावगुप्तानचलानचलानिव भारत ॥
धर्मशीलानकृपणांस्तथा सर्वोपधातिगान् ।
धिया सर्वान् सम्परीक्ष्य राजा कुर्वीत मन्त्रिणः ॥
येऽस्य राजधुरं वोढुं समर्थाः सद्गवा इव ।
तैः समेत्य महीपालो गुप्तमन्त्रो जितेन्द्रियः ॥
विधानां दर्शने यत्नमातिष्ठेद्भरतर्षभ ॥

'अनाक्षारितपूर्वकान्' वाचाऽनवमानितान् । 'सर्वोपधातिगान्' सर्वच्छद्मवर्जितान् ।

मत्स्यपुराणे

नैकस्तु मन्त्रयेन्मन्त्रं न राजा बहुभिः सह ।
नाऽऽरुह्य विषमां नावं नाऽपरीक्षितनाविकाम्[1] ॥

1 म. पु., ch. 220, 37–38; compare कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्र (Mysore *edn.*) p. 27:
"नैकस्य मन्त्रसिद्धिरस्ती"ति विशालाक्षः

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श्रीरामायणे[1]

अनभिज्ञाय शास्त्राणि बहवः पशुबुद्धयः ।
प्रागल्भ्याद्वक्तुमिच्छन्ति मन्त्रेष्वभ्यन्तरीकृताः ॥
मन्त्रिरूपा हि रिपवः सम्भाव्यास्ते विचक्षणैः ।
ये हितोदयमुत्सृज्य विपरीतोपसेविनः ॥
अहितं हि हिताकारं धाष्ट्याज्जल्पन्ति ये नराः ।
अवेक्ष्या मन्त्रबाह्यास्ते कर्त्तव्याः कृतदूषणाः ॥
विनाशाय स्वभर्त्तुर्हि संहताः शत्रुभिर्बुधैः ।
विपरीतानि कृत्यानि कारयन्तीह मन्त्रिणः ॥

मनुः[2] (P. 329-30)

मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूरांल्लब्धलक्ष्यान् कुलोद्गतान् । |५४||
सचिवान् सप्त वाऽष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परीक्षितान् ॥
तेषां स्वस्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् । |५७||
समस्तानां च कार्येषु विदध्याद्धितमात्मने ॥
सर्वेषां तु विशिष्टेन ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता । |५८|
मन्त्रयेत्परमं मन्त्रं राजा षाड्गुण्यसंयुतम् ॥
नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वासः सर्वकार्याणि निक्षिपेत् । |५९||
तेन सार्द्धं विनिश्चित्य ततः कार्यं समारभेत् ॥

1 युद्धकाण्ड., 63, 14–17, Mylapore *edn.*, shows some differences.

2 VII, 54, 57–59

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श्रीरामायणे[1]

यत् प्रियं च हितं चैव साधुधर्म्यं च सर्वशः ।
ब्रूयुस्तन्मन्त्रिणो वाक्यं मन्त्र्यमाणे विशेषतः ॥

प्राप्ते कार्ये शरीरं तु नेतुं स्वां गुणसम्पदम् ।
प्रियमुत्सृज्य वक्तव्यं हितमेव हि मन्त्रिणा ॥

सुलभाः पुरुषा राजन् सततं प्रियवादिनः[2] ।
अप्रियस्य च पथ्यस्य वक्ता श्रोता च दुर्लभः ॥

मन्त्रिण इत्यनुवृत्तौ मनुः[3]

तैः सार्द्धं चिन्तयेन्नित्यं सामान्यं सन्धिविग्रहम् ।
स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिं लब्धप्रशमनानि च ॥

मध्यन्दिने च रात्रौ[4] च विश्रान्तो विगतक्लमः ।
चिन्तयेद्धर्मकामार्थान् सार्द्धं तैरेक एव वा ॥

परस्परविरुद्धानां तेषां च समुपार्जनम् ।
कन्यानां सम्प्रदानं च कुमाराणां च रक्षणम् ॥

दूतसम्प्रेषणं चैव कार्यशेषं तथैव च ।
अन्तःपुरप्रचारं च प्रणिधीनां च चेष्टितम् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 311

2 अरण्यकाण्ड., 37, 2. and युद्धकाण्ड., 16, 20, the other two verses are not to be traced in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but all the three are reproduced in the same order by वी. मि., p. 311

3 VII, 56. These verses are dropped by वी. मि.

4 VII, 151–158 A; printed texts read मध्यन्दिनेऽर्धरात्रौ

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कृत्स्नं चाऽष्टविधं कर्म पञ्चवर्गं च यत्नतः ।
अनुरागापरागौ च प्रचारं मण्डलस्य च ॥

मध्यमस्य प्रचारं च विजिगीषोश्च चेष्टितम् ।
उदासीनप्रचारं च शत्रोश्चैव प्रयत्नतः ॥

एताः प्रकृतयो मूलं मण्डलस्य समासतः ।
अष्टौ चाऽन्याः समाख्याता द्वादशैव तु ताः स्मृताः ॥

अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गार्थदण्डाख्याः पञ्च चाऽपराः ।
प्रत्येकं कथिता ह्येताः संक्षेपेण द्विसप्ततिः ॥

अनन्तरमरिं विद्यादरिसेविनमेव च ।
अरेरनन्तरं मित्रमुदासीनं तयोः परम्[1] ॥

विकृष्टेऽध्वन्यनायत्तमुदासीनो बलान्वितः[2] ।
स खिलो मण्डलार्थस्तु यस्मिन् ज्ञेयः समध्यमः ॥

तथा[3]

प्राज्ञं कुलीनं दातारं शूरं दक्षं तथैव च ।
कृतज्ञं शक्तिमन्तं च कष्टमाहुररिं बुधाः ॥

1 Line missing in Udaipur Ms. ; cf *Kāmandaka*, VIII, 16-41, where the different computitions as Mandalas are described. The selection of the Mānava rule in the text is dictated by an obvious desire to exclude mere अर्थशास्त्र authorities.

2 This verse is not in Kullūka's text. The Chowkhamba *edn*. p. 218, reads : विप्रकृष्टेऽध्वनो यत्र उदासीनो बलान्वितः

3 VII, 210-211

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आर्यता[1] पुरुषज्ञानं शौर्यं करुणवेदिता ।
स्थूललक्षश्च[2] सततमुदासीनगुणोदयः ॥

तथा[3]

तान् सर्वानभिसन्दध्यात्सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ।
व्यस्तैश्चैव समस्तैश्च पौरुषेण नयेन च ॥

'स्थानं' चतुर्विधं सैन्यकोशपुरराष्ट्रभेदेन । 'समुदयः' कृषिव्यजनगुल्मस्थानवणिक्पशुशुल्कदण्डादिः । 'गुप्तिः' राष्ट्रादिरक्षा । 'लब्धप्रशमनं' देवताश्रमविद्यावतां धार्मिकाणां दानसन्मानयोगः । 'तेषां' धर्मार्थकामानाम् । 'समुपार्जनं' सम्यगविरोधेनोत्पादनम् । 'प्रणिधयः' चराः । 'अष्टविधं कर्म' उशनसोक्तं यथा—

आदाने च विसर्गे च तथा प्रैषनिषेधयोः[4] ।
पञ्चमे चार्थवचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे ॥
दण्डशुद्धौ तथा युक्त आत्मशुद्धौ तथैव च ।
अष्टकर्मा दिवं याति राजा शक्राभिपूजितः ॥

'पञ्चवर्गः' पञ्चप्रकाराणां चाराणां समूहः । ते च यथा— श्रद्धेयदेशविशेषशिल्पभाषादिविदो जनाः । तथा कुब्ज-

1 Printed texts read आर्यता for अयन्ता as incorrectly given in the Mss.
2 *Ibid*, स्थौललक्ष्यं
3 VII, 159
4 Frist śloka omitted by I. O.

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वामनकिरातमूकबधिरजडान्धादिछद्मिनः । तथा नटनर्तकगायनादयः । तथा स्त्रियोऽभ्यन्तरचारिण्यः । तथा श्रमणादयः । एतेषां प्रवृत्तिज्ञानार्थाश्चारसमूहाः स्वस्य परस्य च बोद्धव्याः ।

'अनुरागापरागौ' मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजदौवारिकादीनामात्मीयपञ्चविधचारवर्गाद्बोद्धव्यौ इत्यर्थः । 'मध्यमस्य प्रचारमि' ति । एतस्मिन् राजमण्डले इमाश्चतस्रो राजप्रकृतयो भवन्ति, विजिगीषुररिर्मध्यम उदासीन इति । तत्रैषामेव राजप्रकृतिसम्पन्नो जेतुमभ्युद्यतः स विजिगीषुः । शत्रुस्त्रिविधः—सहजः, कृत्रिमः, स्वभूम्यनन्तर इति । 'मध्यमः' अनयोररिजिगीषावृत्तयोरसंहतयोर्निग्रहसमर्थः । 'उदासीनः' अरिविजिगीषुमध्यमानामसंहतानां निग्रहसमर्थः । एतासां चतसृणां मण्डलस्य मूलप्रकृतीनामेकैकस्याः प्रकृतेरमित्रमित्रं वेति द्वे द्वे प्रकृती । एता अष्टौ, आद्याश्चतस्रः । एवमुभयतो द्वादश भवन्ति । 'अमात्ये'त्यादि अमात्यादयः पञ्च प्रकृतयः द्वादशानां प्रकृतीनामेकैकस्या भवन्त्यतः षड्द्वादशकाद्विसप्ततिर्भवति[1] ।

1 वी. मि., p. 323, which apprrpriatos the comments of लक्ष्मीधर in the above passage up to the asterisk apparently had a different text, since it contriues *Kalpataru* thus : "कल्पतरुस्तु-'विजिगीषुमित्रं, विजिगीषुमित्रमित्रं, अरिमित्रं, अरिमित्रमित्रं, मध्यममित्रं, मध्यममित्रमित्रं, उदासीनमित्रं, उदासीनमित्रमित्रं चेत्यष्टौ, प्रकृताश्चतस्रः प्रकृतय इति द्वादश" इत्याह ।

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महाभारते

विजिगीषोररिर्मित्रमरेर्मित्रमतः परम् ।
मित्रमित्रं शत्रुमित्रं मित्रं ज्ञेयं पुरस्सरम् ॥
पार्ष्णिग्राहस्तथा क्रन्दःपार्ष्ण्यासारश्च पृष्ठतः ।
आक्रन्दासार इति च ज्ञेयं मण्डलचिन्तकैः ॥
पार्ष्णिग्राहाभिसारं च पार्ष्णिग्राहं च विग्रहे ।
राजाक्रन्दाभिसारेण तथाऽऽक्रन्देन वर्द्धयेत् ॥
विरोधयेच्छत्रुमित्रं [1]मित्रमित्रमरेस्तथा ।
मित्रेण मित्रमित्रेण मध्यमत्वाभिवाञ्छकः ॥
मन्त्रप्रभूत्साहशक्तिः पालयेदात्मवान्नृपः ॥

'वर्द्धयेत्' छेदयेत् ॥

इति मन्त्रः ॥

1 Udaipur Ms. reads विवोधयेत् ; but वी. मि., p. 322 confirms the text.

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[1]अथ षाड्गुण्यम्

तत्र मनुः[2]

सन्धिं च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च।
द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षड्गुणांश्चिन्तयेत्सदा॥
आसनं चैव यानं च [3]सन्धाय च विगृह्य च।
कार्यं वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जीत द्वैधं संश्रयमेव च॥
सन्धिं तु द्विविधं विद्याद्राजविग्रहमेव च[4]।
उभे यानासने चैव द्वैधं संश्रयमेव च[5]॥
समानयानकर्मा च विपरीतस्तथैव च।
तदा त्वायतिसंयुक्तः सन्धिर्ज्ञेयो विचक्षणैः[6]॥
स्वयं कृतं च कार्यार्थमकाले काल एव च।

1 वी. मि., p. 324 ff.

2 VII, 160–180

3 Printed texts and वी. मि., p. 324, read सन्धिं विग्रहमेव च

4 *Ibid*, वी. मि., p. 324 राजा विग्रहमेव च

5 *Ibid*, द्विविधः संशयः स्मृतः

6 *Ibid*, द्विलक्षणः for विचक्षणैः ; वी. मि., p. 324 explains : 'सन्धिः' हस्त्यश्वादिदानादिना परस्परमुपकर्तव्यमित्यादिव्यवस्था। 'विग्रहो' विरोधः। 'यानं' स्वबलेन शत्रुं प्रति गमनम्। 'आसनं' विग्रहमुपेक्ष्य स्वदेशावस्थितिः। 'द्वैधीभावः' स्वबलस्य द्विधाकरणम्। 'संश्रयः' परपीडितस्य प्रबलराजान्तराश्रयणम्।

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मित्रं चैवाप्यप्रकृते द्विविधो विग्रहः स्मृतः[1] ॥
एकाकिनश्चात्ययिके काले प्राप्ते [2]यथेच्छया ।
संहतस्य च मित्रेण द्विविधं यानमुच्यते ॥
क्षीणस्य चैव क्रमशो दैवात्पूर्वकृतेन वा ।
मित्रस्य चाऽनुरोधेन द्विविधं स्मृतमासनम् ॥
बलस्य स्वामिनश्चैव स्थितिः कार्य्यस्य सिद्धये ।
द्विविधं कीर्त्यते द्वैधं षाड्गुण्यगुणवेदिभिः ॥
अर्थसम्पादनार्थं च पीड्यमानश्च शत्रुभिः ।
साधुषु व्यपदेशश्च[3] द्विविधः संश्रयः स्मृतः ॥
यदाऽवगच्छेदायत्यामाधिक्यं ध्रुवमात्मनः ।
तदात्वे वाऽधिकां[4] पीडां तदा सन्धिं समाश्रयेत् ॥
यदा प्रकृष्टा मन्येत सर्वास्तु प्रकृतीर्भृशम् ।
अत्युच्छ्रितं तथाऽऽत्मानं तदा मन्येत[5] विग्रहम् ॥
यदा मन्येत भावेन हृष्टं पुष्टं बलं स्वकम् ।
परस्य विपरीतं च तदा यायाद्रिपुं प्रति ॥
यदा तु स्यात्परिक्षीणो वाहनेन बलेन च ।
तदासीत प्रयत्नेन शनकैः सान्त्वयन्नरीन् ॥
मन्येताऽरिं यदा राजा सर्वथा बलवत्तरम् ।

1 Printed texts read मित्रस्य चैवापकृते
2 *Ibid*, यदृच्छया
3 *Ibid*, व्यपदेशार्थं
4 *Ibid*, चाल्पिकां
5 *Ibid*, कुर्वीत

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तदा द्विधा बलं कृत्वा साधयेत्कार्यमात्मनः ॥
यदा परबलानां तु गमनीयतमो भवेत् ।
तदा तु संश्रयेत् क्षिप्रं धार्मिकं बलिनं रिपुम्[1] ॥
निग्रहं प्रकृतीनां च कुर्याद्यो निर्वलस्य च[2] ।
उपसेवेत तं नित्यं सर्वयत्नैर्गुरुं यथा ॥
यदि तत्राऽपि सम्पश्येद्दोषं संश्रयकारिणम्[3] ।
सुयुद्धमेव तत्राऽपि निर्विशङ्कः समाचरेत् ॥
सर्वोपायैस्तथा कुर्यान्नीतिज्ञः पृथिवीपतिः ।
यथा[4] स्वादधिका न स्युर्मित्रोदासीनशत्रवः ॥
आयतिं सर्वकार्याणां तदात्वं च विचारयेत् ।
अतीतानां च सर्व्वेषां गुणदोषौ च तत्वतः ॥
आयत्यां गुणदोषज्ञस्तदात्वे क्षिप्रनिश्चयः ।
अतीते कार्यशेषज्ञः शत्रुभिर्नाभिभूयते ॥
यथैनं नाऽभिसन्दध्युर्मित्रोदासीनशत्रवः ।
तथा सर्वं[5] समादध्यादेष सामासिको नयः ॥

तथा[6]

चारेणोत्साहयोगेन क्रिययैव च कर्मणाम् ।

1 Printed texts read: नृपम् ; so वी. मि., p. 328

2 *Ibid*, कुर्याद्योऽरिबलस्य च

3 *Ibid*, वी. मि., and I. O., कारितम्

4 *Ibid*, and वी. मि., p. 328, यथाऽस्याभ्यधिका ; A. S. B., यथाऽस्मादधिका न स्युः

5 *Ibid*, and वी. मि., p. 328, स विदध्यात्

6 IX, 298–300 ; वी. मि., p. 328, continues the

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स्वशक्तिं परशक्तिं च नित्यं विद्यात्परात्मनोः[1] ॥

पीडनानि च सर्वाणि व्यसनानि तथैव च ।
आरभेत ततः कार्यं सञ्चिन्त्य गुरुलाघवम् ॥

आरभेतैव कर्माणि श्रान्तः श्रान्तः पुनः पुनः ।
कर्माण्यारभमाणं हि पुरुषं श्रीर्निषेवते ॥

इति षाड्गुण्यम् ॥

Manusamhita verses over this break, without indicating that the verses are not continuous in the original.

1 *Ibid*, and वी. मि., महीपतिः

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अथ यात्रा

तत्र मनुः[1] (p. 363)

यदा तु यानमातिष्ठेदरिराष्ट्रं प्रति प्रभुः ।
तदाऽनेन विधानेन यायादरिपुरं शनैः ॥
मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासे यायाद्यात्रां महीपतिः ।
फाल्गुनं वाऽथ चैत्रं वा मासौ प्रति यथाबलम् ॥
अन्येष्वपि तु कालेषु यदा पश्येद्ध्रुवं जयम् ।
तदा यायाद्विगृह्यैव व्यसने वोत्थिते रिपोः ॥

अरि राष्ट्र
अरि पुरे

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

यदा सस्यगुणोपेतं परराष्ट्रं परं व्रजेत्[3] ।
परश्च हीन आत्मा च हृष्टवाहनपूरुषः ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे[4]

यदा मन्येत नृपतिराक्रन्देन बलीयसा ।
पार्ष्णिग्राहाभिभूतोऽयं तदा यात्रां प्रयोजयेत् ॥

1 VII, 181–183 ; वी. मि., p, 330
2 I, 348 ; omitted by I. O.
3 Printed texts read तदा व्रजेत्
4 म. पु., ch. 240, 2, 47–9. 15, (p. 491) ; I. O. omits the name.

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पार्ष्णिग्राहाधिकं सैन्यं मूले निक्षिप्य च व्रजेत् ।
दिव्यान्तरिक्षक्षितिजैरुत्पातैः पीडितं परम् ॥

तमृक्षपीडासन्तप्तं पीडितं च यथाग्रहैः ।
स्वबलव्यसनोपेतं तथा दुर्भिक्षपीडितम् ॥

सम्भूतान्तरकोपं च क्षिप्रं यायादरिं नृपः ।
शरीरस्फुरणे धन्ये तथा सुस्वप्नदर्शने ॥

तथा[1]

निमित्ते शकुने धन्ये जाते शत्रुपुरं व्रजेत् ।
अङ्गदक्षिणभागे तु शस्तं प्रस्फुरणं शुभम् ॥

अप्रशस्तं तथा वामे पृष्ठस्य हृदयस्य च ।
लाञ्छनं पिटकं चैव ज्ञेयं स्फुरणवत्तथा ॥

विपर्ययेन विहितं सर्वस्त्रीणां विपर्ययम् ।
दक्षिणेऽपि प्रशस्तेऽङ्गे प्रशस्तं स्याद्विशेषतः ॥

अथोन्यथा सिद्धिरजल्पनात्तु
फलस्य शस्तस्य विनिन्दितस्य ।
अरिष्टचिह्नोपगमे द्विजानां
कार्यं सुवर्णेन च तर्पणं स्यात् ॥

श्रीरामायणे[2] शुभाशुभविषये त्रिजटावाक्यम्—

समग्रभवनां कृत्स्नां ग्रसमानः पुरीमिमाम्[3] ।

1 म. पु., ch. 241, 2. 12, 14
2 सुन्दरकाण्ड., sarga 27 ; वी. मि., p. 333
3 Not found in printed texts.

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स्वप्ने रामो मया दृष्टो रुधिरं पीतवान् बहु ॥
गजदन्तमयीं दिव्यां शिबिकामन्तरिक्षगाम् ।
युक्तां [1]नागसहस्रेण सुखमास्थाय राघवः ॥
स्वप्ने चाऽद्य मया दृष्टः शुक्लाम्बरवरावृतः ।
सागरेण परिक्षिप्तं श्वेतं पर्वतमास्थितः ॥
राघवश्च मया दृष्टश्चतुर्दन्तं महागजम् ।
आरूढः शैलसंकाशं विचरन् सह लक्ष्मणः ॥
ततस्तौ नरशार्दूलौ दीप्यमानौ स्वतेजसा ।
शुक्लमाल्याम्बरधरौ जानकीं प्रत्युपस्थितौ ॥
ततस्तस्य नगस्याग्रादाकाशस्थस्य दन्तिनः ।
भर्त्रा परिगृहीतस्य जानकी स्कन्धमाश्रिता ॥
भर्त्तुरङ्कात्समुत्पत्य ततः कमललोचना ।
चन्द्रसूर्यौ मया दृष्टा पाणिना परिमार्जती ॥
ततस्ताभ्यां कुमाराभ्यामास्थितः स गजोत्तमः ।
सीतया च विशालाक्ष्या लङ्कां पर्यभिसंस्थितः ॥
पाण्डुरर्षभयुक्तेन रथेनाऽष्टयुजा स्वयम् ।
शुक्लमाल्याम्बरो रामो लक्ष्मणेन सहाऽऽगतः ॥
[रावणश्च मया दृष्टः क्षितौ तैलसमुक्षितः ।
रक्तवासाः पिबन्मत्तः करवीरकृतस्रजः ॥]
विमानात्पुष्पकादद्य रावणः पतितो मया ।
कृश्यमाणस्त्रिया दृष्टो मुण्डः पीताम्बरो हसन् ॥

1 हंस for नाग and स्वयं for सुखं (Kumbakonam *ed.*)
वाजि for नाग (Nirnayasāgara *edn.*)

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रथेन खरयुक्तेन रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनः ।
स गत्वा दक्षिणामाशां प्रविष्टो गोमयं ह्रदम् ॥

कण्ठे बध्वा दशग्रीवं प्रमदा रक्तवासिनी ।
काली करालवदना दिशं याम्यां प्रकर्षति ॥

वराहेण दशग्रीवः शिंशुमारेण चाऽसकृत्[1] ।
उष्ट्रेण च मया दृष्टः[2] प्रयातो दक्षिणां दिशम् ॥

समाजश्च मया दृष्टो गीतवादित्रनृत्यवान् ।
बिभ्रतां रक्तमाल्यानि रक्षसां रक्तवाससाम् ॥

लङ्का चेयं पुरी दृष्टा गजवाजिसमाकुला[3] ।
सागरे पतिता कृत्स्ना भग्नप्राकारतोरणा ॥

पीत्वा तैलं प्रनृत्यन्ति प्रहसन्ति महास्वनाः ।
लङ्कायां भस्मरूक्षायां सर्वा राक्षसयोषितः ॥

कुम्भकर्णादयश्चेमे सर्वे राक्षसपुङ्गवाः ।
पीतैर्निवसनैर्दृष्टाः क्रीडन्तो गोमयह्रदे[4] ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे[5]

इदानीं कथयिष्यामि निमित्तं स्वप्नदर्शने ।

1 इन्द्रजित् इति मुद्रितपुस्तकेषु ; वी. मि., p. 336, असकृत्

2 वी. मि., मया दृष्टः ; मुद्रितपुस्तकेषु 'कुम्बकर्णः'

3 A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 336 रथाकुला ; printed texts read : सवाजिरथकुञ्जरा

4 Printed texts read : रक्तं निवसनं गृह्य प्रविष्टा गोमयह्रदम् ।

5 म. पु., ch. 242. 2, ff ; वी. मि., p. 336 adds विष्णुधर्मोत्तरयोरपि

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नाभिं विनाऽन्यगात्रेषु तृणवृक्षसमुद्भवः[1] ॥
चूर्णनं मूर्ध्नि कांस्यानां मुण्डनं नग्नता तथा ।
मलिनाम्बरधारित्वमभ्यङ्गः पङ्कदिग्धता ॥
उच्चैः[2] प्रपतनं चैव दोलारोहणमेव च ।
अर्जनं पङ्कलोहानां तपतामपि धारणम् ॥
रक्तपुष्पद्रुमाणां च चण्डालस्य तथैव च ।
वराहर्क्षखरोष्ट्राणां तथा चारोहणक्रिया ॥
भक्षणं पक्वमांसानां तैलस्य कृशरस्य च ।
नर्तनं हसनं चैव विवाहो गतिमेव च ॥
तन्त्रीवाद्यविहीनानां वाद्यानामपि वादनम् ।
स्रोतोऽवगाहो गमनं स्नानं गोमयवारिणा ॥
पङ्कोदकेन च तथा महीतोयेन चाऽप्यथ ।
मातुः प्रवेशो जठरे चितारोहणमेव च ॥
शक्रध्वजानां पतनं पतनं शशिसूर्य्ययोः ।
दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमानामुत्पातानां च दर्शनम् ॥
देवद्विजातिभूपालगुरूणां क्रोध एव च ।
आलिङ्गनं कुमारीणां पुरुषाणां च मैथुनम् ॥
हानिश्चैव स्वगात्राणां विरेकवमनक्रिया ।
दक्षिणाशाभिगमनं व्याधिनाऽभिभवस्तथा ॥
फलापहारहानिश्च गृहाणां चैव पातनम् ।

1 Udaipur Ms. reads : पुष्प for वृक्ष

2 A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 336 उच्चात प्रपतनं ; I. O. defective here.

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गृहसंमार्जनं चैव धनहानिं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥
पीडा पिशाचक्रव्यादवानरान्त्यनरैरपि[1] ?।
परादभिभवश्चैव तस्माच्च व्यसनोद्भवः ॥
काषायवस्त्रधारित्वं तद्वत्स्त्रीक्रीडनं तथा ।
स्नेहपानावगाहौ च रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनम् ॥

'तद्वत्स्त्रीक्रीडनं' काषायवस्त्रयुक्तस्त्रिया सह क्रीडनम्[2] ।

एवमादीन्यधन्यानि स्वप्नानि तु विनिर्दिशेत् ।
एषामकथनं[3] धन्यं भूयश्च स्वपनं तथा ॥
कल्कस्नानं तिलैर्होमो ब्राह्मणानां च पूजनम् ।
स्तुतिश्च वासुदेवस्य तथा तस्यैव पूजनम् ॥
गजेन्द्रमोक्षश्रवणं[4] ज्ञेयं दुःस्वप्ननाशनम् ।
स्वप्नास्तु प्रथमे यामे संवत्सरविपाकिनः ॥
षड्भिर्मासैर्द्वितीये तु त्रिभिर्मासैस्तृतीयके ।
चतुर्थे मासमात्रेण पश्यतो नाऽत्र संशयः ॥
एकस्यां यदि वा रात्रौ शुभं वा यदि वाऽशुभम् ।
पश्चाद्दृष्टस्तु यस्तत्र तस्य पाकं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥

1 म. पु., p. 494, reads : क्रीडापिशाचक्रव्यादवानरर्क्षनरैरपि । वी. मि., p. 337 follows the text.

2 Explanation reproduced in वी. मि., p. 337

3 So वी. मि., p. 337 ; म. पु., p. 494, reads : एषा सङ्कथनं धन्यं भूयः प्रस्वापनं तथा, consistently with books on omens.

4 A. S. B., I. O. and वी. मि., p. 339 read नागेन्द्र

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तस्माच्छोभनके स्वप्ने पश्चात्स्वप्नं न शस्यते ।
शैलप्रासादनागाश्च वृषभारोहणं हितम् ॥
द्रुमाणां श्वेतपुष्पाणां गमनं च तथा द्विज ।
द्रुमतृणोद्भवो [1]वाहौ तथा च बहुबाहुता ॥
तथा च बहुशीर्षत्वं पलितोद्भव एव च ।
सुशुक्लमाल्यधारित्वं सुशुक्लाम्बरधारिता ॥
चन्द्रार्कताराग्रसनं परिमार्जनमेव च ।
शक्रध्वजालिङ्गनं च तदुच्छ्रायक्रिया तथा ॥
भूम्यम्बुधराग्रसनं शत्रूणां च वधक्रिया ।
जयो विवादे द्यूतेषु संग्रामे च तथा द्विज ॥
भक्षणं चाऽऽर्द्रमांसानां [[2]मत्स्यानां पायसस्य च ।
दर्शनं रुधिरस्याऽपि स्नानं च रुधिरेण ह ॥
सुरारुधिरमद्यानां] पानं क्षीरस्य चाऽप्यथ ।
अन्त्रैर्विवेष्टनं भूमौ निर्मलं गगनं तथा ॥
सुखेन दोहनं शस्तं महिषीणां गवां तथा ।
सिंहीनां हस्तिनीनां च बडवानां तथैव च ॥
प्रसादो देवविप्रेभ्यो गुरुभ्यश्च तथा शुभः ।
अम्भसा त्वभिषेकश्च गवां शृङ्गाश्रितेन च ॥
चन्द्राद्भ्रष्टेन वै राजन् ज्ञेयो राज्यप्रदो हि सः ।
राज्याभिषेकश्च तथा छेदनं शिरसस्तथा ॥

1 म. पु., p. 494, नाभौ for वाहौ

2 [ ] Lacuna in Udaipur Ms. supplied by I. O., A. S. B. and म. पु.

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मरणं वह्निदाहश्च वह्निदाहो गृहादिषु ।
लब्धिश्च राज्यलिङ्गानां तन्त्रीवाद्यादिवादनम् ॥
तथोदकानां तरणं विषयस्य च लङ्घनम् ।
हस्तिनीबडवानां च गवां च प्रसवो गृहे ॥
आरोहणं तथा [1]श्वानां रोदनं च तथा शुभम् ।
वरस्त्रीणां तथा लाभस्तदालिङ्गनमेव च ॥
निगडैर्बन्धनं धन्यं तथा विष्ठानुलेपनम् ।
जीवानां[2] भूमिपालनां सुहृदामपि दर्शनम् ॥
दर्शनं देवतार्चानां विमलानां तथाऽम्भसाम्[3] ॥

शुभान्यथैतानि नरस्तु दृष्ट्वा
प्राप्नोत्ययत्नाद्ध्रुवमर्थलाभम् ।
स्वप्नानि धर्मज्ञ भृतांवरिष्ठ
व्याधेर्विमोक्षं च तथाऽऽतुरोऽपि ॥

मनुः[4]

कृत्वा विधानं मूले तु यात्रिकं च यथाविधि ।
उपगृह्यास्पदं चैव चारान् सम्यग्विधाय च ॥
संशोध्य त्रिविधं मार्गं षड्विधं च बलं स्वकम् ।
साम्परायिककल्पेन यायाद्रिपुपुरं प्रति[5] ॥

1 Lacuna here in I. O.
2 A. S. B., जीवता
3 Mss. read wrongly तथा सभाम्
4 VII, 184–6
5 Printed texts read : शनैः for प्रति

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शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च गूढे युक्ततरो भवेत् ।
गतप्रत्यागते चैव स हि कष्टतरो रिपुः ॥

'साम्परायिककल्पेन' युद्धकल्पेन ।

मत्स्यपुराणे[1]

पदातिनागबहुलां सेनां प्रावृषि योजयेत् ।
हेमन्ते शिशिरे चैव रथवाजिसमाकुलाम् ॥
खरोष्ट्रबहुलां सेनां तथा ग्रीष्मे नराधिपः ।
चतुर्विधबलोपेतां[2] वसन्ते वा शरद्यथ ॥
सेना पदातिबहुला यस्य स्यात् पृथिवीपतेः ।
अभियोज्यो भवेत्तेन शत्रुर्विषममाश्रितः ॥
रम्ये[3] वृक्षावृते देशे स्थितं शत्रुं तथैव च ।
किञ्चित्पङ्के तथा यायाद्बहुनागो नराधिपः ॥
रथाश्वबहुलो यायात्क्षेत्रं समपथाश्रयम् ।
जलाश्रयं[4] नौबहुलस्तथा राजा रिपूञ्जयेत् ॥
खरोष्ट्रबहुलो राजा शत्रुं बन्धनसंस्थितम्[5] ।
बन्धनस्थोऽपि योज्योऽरिः सदा प्रावृषि भूभुजा ॥

1 म. पु., ch. 240, 19-27; वी. मि., p. 397

2 म. पु., p. 492, चतुरङ्गबलोपेताम्

3 *Ibid*, and वी. मि., p. 497, गम्ये for रम्ये

4 So वी. मि., p. 337; but म. पु., p. 492 reads तमाश्रयन्तो बहुलाः तांस्तु राजा प्रपूजयेत् ।

5 वी. मि., शत्रुं च वनसंस्थितम् ; म. पु., शत्रुर्बन्धेन संस्थितः

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हिमपातयुते देशे स्थितं ग्रीष्मेऽभियोजयेत् ।
यवसेन्धनसंयुक्तं काले पार्थिवहैमजे ॥
शरद्वसन्तौ धर्मज्ञ कालौ साधारणौ स्मृतौ ॥

विज्ञाय राजा द्विजदेशकालौ
दैवं त्रिकालं च तथैव बुध्वा ।
यायात्परं कालविदां मतेन
सञ्चिन्त्यमानं[1] द्विजमन्त्रविद्भिः ॥

मनुः[2] (p. 364-65)

दण्डव्यूहेन तन्मार्गं यायात्तु शकटेन वा ।
वराहमकराभ्यां वा सूच्या वा गरुडेन वा ॥
यतः[3] शङ्केत सभयं ततो विस्तारयेद्बलम् ।
पद्मेन चैव व्यूहेन निवसेत तदा[4] स्वयम् ॥
सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वदिक्षु निवेशयेत् ।
भयं[5] यतो वा शङ्केत तां प्राचीं कल्पयेद्दिशम् ॥
गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् शतसंख्यांस्ततस्ततः ।
स्थाने युद्धे च कुशलानभीतानधिकारिणः[6] ॥

1 म. पु., has सार्धं for मानं, the reading followed by वी. मि.

2 VII, 187–190 ; वी. मि., p. 400

3 Printed texts : यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत

4 *Ibid*, सदा for तदा ; so. वी. मि.

5 *Ibid*, यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत् प्राचीन्तां कल्पयेद्दिशम् ।

6 *Ibid*, अभीरूनविकारिणः

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शङ्खलिखितौ[1]

राजक्रतुरेवाऽश्वमेधस्तं नाऽसार्वभौमः प्रतिपादयितुमर्हति। अश्वमेधेन यक्ष्य इति परविषयमभियायाद्देशकालशक्तिसम्पन्नः प्रभूतयवसेन्धनोदकाविच्छिन्नसाम्परायिकः। पथि संविहितसर्वोपकरणो दुर्गासारामात्यदेशदण्डाक्रन्दाद्यगुणविधिज्ञः, पर्षदम्प्रति नयवान् विदितं अध्वानं हितमनुक्रामेत् यथा भूमिभागस्तथा विनियोगः श्रेयान् पानभोजनोपनिवेशः स्थानशङ्काप्रतिविधानकुशलो भूपतिरवहितः शत्रुणा सह युध्येत्।

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

य एव धर्मो नृपतेः स्वराष्ट्रपरिपालने।
तमेव कृत्स्नमाप्नोति[3] परराष्ट्रं वशं नयन्॥

मनुः[4] (P. 367)

उपरुध्यारिमासीत राष्ट्रं वाऽस्योपपीडयेत्।
दूषयेच्चाऽस्य सततं यवसान्नोदकेन्धनम्॥
भिन्द्याच्चैव तडाकानि प्राकारपरिखास्तथा।
समवस्कन्दयेच्चैनं रात्रौ वित्रासयेत्तथा॥
उपरुध्याऽनुपजपेद्युध्येतैव[5] च तत्कृतम्।

1 वी. मि., p. 402
2 I, 342 ; वी. मि., p. 402
3 मिताक्षरा., आप्नोति धर्मषड्भागम्
4 VII, 195–197; वी. मि., p. 403
5 Printed texts : उपजप्यानुजपेद् बुध्येतैव च तत्कृतम्। वी. मि., p. 404, explains उपजपेत् as भेदं कुर्यात्

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युक्ते च दैवे युध्येत जयप्रेप्सुरपेतभीः ॥

तथा[1]

एवं विजयमानस्य येऽस्य स्युः परिपन्थिनः ।
तानानयेद्वशं सर्वान्सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ॥
यदि ते तु न तिष्ठेयुरुपायैः प्रथमैस्त्रिभिः ।
दण्डेनाऽभिप्रसह्यैनं[2] शनकैर्वशमानयेत् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[3]

उपायाः साम दानं च भेदो दण्डस्तथैव च ।
सम्यक्प्रयुक्ताः सिध्येयुर्दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः ॥

मनुः[4]

सामादीनामुपायानां चतुर्णामपि पण्डिताः ।
सामदण्डौ प्रशंसन्ति नित्यं राज्याऽभिवृद्धये[5] ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे[6]

सामभेदस्तथा दानं दण्डश्च मनुजोत्तम ।

1 VII, 107-8

2 Printed texts : दण्डेनैव प्रसह्येतां शनकैः वशमानयेत् ; so A. S. B. and I. O. ; वी. मि., दण्डेनाभिप्रसह्यैतान्

3 I, 346 ; 'दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः' उपायान्तरसम्भवे सति न प्रयोक्तव्यः (मिताक्षरा)

4 VII, 109

5 Printed texts : राष्ट्राभिसिद्धये

6 म. पु., ch. 222, 2. 10

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उपेक्षा च तथा माया इन्द्रजालं च पार्थिव ॥
प्रयोगाः कथिताः सप्त तान्मे निगदतः शृणु ।
द्विविधं कथितं साम तथ्यं चाऽतथ्यमेव च ॥
तत्राऽप्यतथ्यं साधूनामाक्रोशायैव जायते ।
तथा साधुः प्रयत्नेन सामसाध्यो नरोत्तम ॥
महाकुलीना ऋजवो धर्मनित्या जितेन्द्रियाः ।
सामसाध्या न चातथ्यन्तेषु साम प्रयोजयेत् ॥
तथ्यं साम च कर्तव्यं कुलशीलादिवर्णनम् ।
तथा तदुपचाराणां कृतानां चैव वर्णनम् ॥
अनयैव तथा युक्त्या कृतज्ञख्यापनं स्वकम् ।
एवं सान्त्वेन कर्त्तव्या वशगा धर्मतत्पराः ॥
साम्ना यद्यपि रक्षांसि गृह्णन्तीति परा श्रुतिः ।
तथाऽप्येतदसाधूनां प्रयुक्तं [1]नोपकारकम् ॥
अतिशङ्कितमित्येवं पुरुषं सामवेदिनम् ।
असाधवो विजानन्ति तस्मात्तत्तेषु वर्जितम् ॥

तथा[2]

परस्परं च ये दुष्टाः क्रुद्धा भीतावमानिताः ।
तेषां भेदं प्रयुञ्जीत भेदसाध्या हि ते मताः ॥
आत्मीयां दर्शयेदाशां परस्माद्दर्शयेद्भयम् ।
एवं हि भेदयेद्भिन्नान् यथावद्वशमानयेत् ॥

1 Udaipur Ms., कोपकारकम्
2 म. पु., ch. 223, 1–7

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सङ्गतां हि विना भेदं[1] शक्रेणाऽपि तु दुःसहा ।
भेदमेव प्रशंसन्ति तस्मान्नयविशारदाः ॥
महिषी युवराजश्च तथा सेनापतिर्द्विज ।
अमात्या मन्त्रिणश्चैव राजपुत्रास्तथैव च ॥
अन्तःकोपा विनिर्दिष्टा दारुणा पृथिवीक्षिताम्[2] ।

'अतिशङ्कितं' अतिशायिता शङ्का यस्मिन् स तथा । 'सामवेदिनं' सामप्रयोक्तारम् ।

ब्रह्मपुराणे[3]

स्वपक्षभेदो यत्नेन न कर्तव्यः कदाचन ।
दुर्गं कोशश्च देशश्च परराष्ट्रभयं विना ॥
स्वभेदेनैव नश्यन्ति बद्धमूला अपि प्रजाः ।

'परराष्ट्रभयं विने'ति । स्वपक्षभेदे हि परचक्रभयं विनाऽपि दुर्गादिकं नश्यतीत्यर्थः ।

1 Thus A. S. B.; but Udaipur Ms. and I. O., read : सङ्गता विहिता भेदम्

2. म. पु., p. 471,
अन्तः कोपो बहिः कोपो यत्र स्यातां महीक्षिताम् ।
अन्तः कोपो महांस्तत्र नाशकः पृथिवीक्षिताम् ॥

3 वी. मि., p. 282 ; but the source is omitted in Udaipur Ms. The prose explanation is repeated by वी. मि.

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मत्स्यपुराणे[1]

सर्वेषामप्युपायानां दानं श्रेष्ठतमं मतम् ।
सुदत्तेनेह भवति दानेनोभयलोकजित् ॥
यद्यप्यलुब्धगम्भीराः पुरुषाः सागरोपमाः ।
न गृह्णन्ति तथाऽप्येते जायन्ते पक्षपातिनः ॥
न शक्या ये वशीकर्तुमुपायत्रितयेन तु[2] ।
दण्डेन तान् वशीकुर्याद्दण्डो हि वशकृत्तमः ॥

श्री रामायणे[3]

तत्र साम प्रयोक्तव्यमार्येषु गुणवत्सु च ।
दानं लुब्धेषु भेदश्च शङ्कितेष्विति निश्चयः ॥
दण्डस्तथैव पात्यश्च नित्यकाले दुरात्मसु ॥

मनुः[4]

साम्ना भेदेन दानेन समस्तैरुत वा पृथक् ।
विजेतुं प्रयतेताऽरीन्न युद्धेन कदाचन ॥
अनित्यो विजयो यस्माद्दृश्यते युध्यमानयोः ।
पराजयश्च सङ्ग्रामे तस्माद्युद्धं विवर्जयेत् ॥

तथा[5]

त्रयाणामप्युपायानां पूर्वोक्तानां परिक्षये ।

1 वी. मि., p. 282 ; म. पु., ch. 224, 2, 5
2 म. पु., ch. 225, 1 ; वी. मि., p. 283, cites the remaining verses of ch. 224
3 Not to be traced ; but cited in वी. मि., p. 404
4 VII, 198–199 ; मनुः omitted in all manuscripts.
5 VII, 200

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तथा युध्येत सम्पन्नो विजयेत रिपून् तथा ॥

तथा[1]

संहतान् योधयेदल्पान् कामं विस्तारयेद्बहून् ।
सूच्या वज्रेण चैवैतान् व्यूहेन व्यूह्य योधयेत् ॥
युध्येत स्यन्दनाश्वेन समे भूपोन्नतद्विपैः[2] ।
वृक्षगुल्मावृते चापैरसिचर्मायुधैस्स्थले ॥
कुरुक्षेत्रांश्च मत्स्यांश्च पाञ्चालान् शूरसेनजान् ।
दीर्घांल्लघूंश्चैव नरान् उग्रानीकेषु योजयेत् ॥
प्रहर्षयेद्बलं व्यूह्य भृशार्त्तांश्च परीक्षयेत् ।
चेष्टाश्चैव विजानीयादारात् योधयतामपि ॥

महाभारते[3]

राज्ञोऽभियोगाद्योद्धव्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः ।

राज्ञोऽधिकमित्यनुवृत्तौ गौतमः[4]

सङ्ग्रामे संस्थानमनिवृत्तिश्च ।

यमः[5]

क्षत्रियस्योरसि क्षेत्रं पृष्ठे ब्रह्म प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

1 VII, 191–194
2 Printed texts read : स्यन्दनाश्वैः समे युद्ध्येदनूपे नौद्विपैस्तथा ।
3 वी. मि., p. 405, राज्ञां नियोगात्
4 *Ibid*, p. 405 ; गौतम., 10, 15
5 *Ibid*, p. 406

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तस्मात्पृष्ठं रणे रक्षेन्मा भवेद्ब्रह्मघातकः[1] ॥

मनुः[2] (P. 339)

समोत्तमाधमै राजा त्वाहूतः समरे परैः ।
न निवर्त्तेत सङ्ग्रामात्क्षत्रधर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥
आहवेषु मिथोऽन्योन्यं जिघांसन्तो महीक्षितः ।
युध्यमानाः परं शक्त्या स्वर्गं यान्त्यपराङ्मुखाः ॥
न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्याद्युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् ।
न कर्णिभिर्नाऽपि दिग्धैर्नाऽग्निज्वालिततेजनैः ॥

[परस्परं] 'मिथः' स्पर्द्धमाना इति शेषः । 'दिग्धैः विषाक्तैः[3] ।

बौधायनः[4]

भीतमत्तोन्मत्तप्रमत्तविसन्नाहस्त्रीबालवृद्धब्राह्मणैर्न युद्ध्येत अन्यत्राऽऽततायिनः[5] ॥

गौतमः[6]

न दोषो हिंसायामाहवे अन्यत्र व्यश्वसारथ्यायुध-

1 "पृष्ठं रणे रक्षेदि"त्यनेन पलायननिषेधः । (वी. मि., p. 406)
2 VII, 87, 89, 90; वी. मि., p. 405
3 Repeated by वी. मि., p. 405
4 बौधा., 1, 18, 11 (वी. मि., p. 406)
5 'उन्मत्तः' विरुद्धचेष्टः । 'विसन्नाहो' विगलितकवचादिबन्धः विगतव्यापारो वा । 'आततायी' साहसकारी । (बौधा. गोविन्दस्वामिविवरण p. 90)
6 गौतम., 10, 16, 17 (वी. मि., p. 407)

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कृताञ्जलिप्रकीर्णकेशपराङ्मुखोपविष्टस्थलवृक्षारूढादूते गो-ब्राह्मणवादिभ्यः[1] ।

मनुः[2] (339-40)

न च हन्यात्स्थलारूढं न क्लीबं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।
न मुक्तकेशमासीनं न तवाऽस्मीति वादिनम् ॥
न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
नाऽयुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥
नाऽऽयुधव्यसनप्राप्तं नार्तं नाऽतिपरिक्षतम् ।
न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥

देवलः[3]

तृणखादी परप्रेप्सुरलसः शरणं गतः ।
षण्डः परार्दितो लिङ्गी स्थविरः पतितः शिशुः ॥
न धर्मयुद्धे हन्तव्या ज्ञेया योधैरनापदि ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[4]

य आहवेषु युध्यन्ते भूम्यर्थमपराङ्मुखाः ।
अकूटैरायुधैर्यान्ति ते स्वर्गं योगिनो यथा ॥

1 विशब्दः त्रिभिस्संबध्यते—व्यश्वः, विसारथिः, व्यायुध इति । 'स्थलारुढः' पर्वतारूढः । दूतोऽहं ब्राह्मणोऽहं इति च यो वदति यश्च गोवच्छब्दं करोति । (मस्करिभाष्य., p. 116)

2 VII, 91–93 ; वी. मि., p. 406

3 वी. मि., p 407

4 I, 324 ; वी. मि., p. 406 ; मिताक्षरा reads वध्यन्ते but अपरार्क and वी. मि. read युध्यन्ते

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देवलः[1]

प्रजार्थं क्षत्रियो युध्येत्स्वान् प्राणान् सम्परित्यजेत् ।
अश्वमेधफलं कृत्स्नं निसर्गेणाऽधिगच्छति ॥
शस्त्रेण निहतः संख्ये द्विषद्भिरपराङ्मुखः ।
शक्रलोकमवाप्नोति स्ववीर्याद्विजितं शुभम् ॥
आहवेऽभिमुखे शूरं प्रहितानि द्विषद्गणैः ।
भिन्द्युर्यावन्ति शस्त्राणि तावन्तः क्रतवोऽस्य ते ॥
क्षतेभ्यः प्रस्रुतं रक्तं क्षितिपांसु सुसंस्पृशेत् ।
स देवलोके तावन्तं कालं तिष्ठति वै ध्रुवम् ॥

नाऽस्ति राज्ञां समरतनुत्यागसदृशो धर्मः । गोब्राह्मण-मित्रधनरक्षणार्थं मृतास्ते स्वर्गलोकभाजः ।

आपस्तम्बः[2]

ब्राह्मणस्वान्यपजिगीषमाणो [राजा यो हन्यते तमाहुरात्मयूपो यज्ञोऽनन्तदक्षिण इति[3]] ।

1 वी. मि., p. 405

2 2, 26, 2 ; वी. मि., p. 407

3 Mss. corrupt and the śūtras are mixed up with explanations, with lacunae in both. The sentence in the Mss. *which is reproduced* by वी. मि., p. 407, and commented on, as if correct, runs thus :

ब्राह्मणस्वान्यपजिगीषमाणो प्रत्यानेतुमिच्छन् युध्यमानो हन्यते साक्षाद्यज्ञधर्मे इत्यर्थः । Haradatta's commentary on the *śūtra* is as follows (p. 286) :—

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'ब्राह्मणस्वानि' चोरादिभिरपहृतानि । 'अपजिगीषमाणः' अपजित्य प्रत्यानेतुमिच्छन् । 'यो राजा' युध्यमानो 'हन्यते' असौ साक्षात् यज्ञधर्म इत्यर्थः ।

व्यासः

ये हता निशितैः शस्त्रैः क्षत्रधर्मपरायणाः ।
ते गता ब्रह्मसदनं न मेऽत्राऽस्ति विचारणा ॥
न यज्ञैर्दक्षिणाभिर्वा न तपोभिर्न विद्यया ।
स्वर्गं यान्ति तथा मर्त्या यथा योधा रणे हताः ॥
न ह्यधर्मोऽस्ति पापीयान् क्षत्रियस्य पलायनात् ।
युद्धाद्धि धर्मः श्रेयान्वै पन्थाः स्वर्गस्य विद्यते[1] ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

पदानि क्रतुतुल्यानि भग्नेषु विनिवर्त्तनात् ।

'ब्राह्मणस्वानि' चोरादिभिरपहृतानि, 'अपजिगीषमाणः' ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दानायाऽपजित्य ग्रहीतुमिच्छन् यो राजा युद्धे चोरैः हन्यते, तम् 'आत्मयूपो' 'अनन्तदक्षिणो' 'यज्ञ' इत्याहुः धर्मज्ञाः । सङ्ग्रामो यज्ञः । तस्यात्मा यूपस्थानीयः। आत्मेति शरीरमाह । अन्तरात्मा तु पशुस्थानीयः। प्रत्यानिनीषितं तु द्रव्यं दक्षिणा । सूत्रे तु 'तं यज्ञ इत्याहुः' इति गौणो वादः ।

1 वी. मि., p. 407, "अत्र व्यासवाक्ये 'योधा रणे हता' इति सामान्यत उपादानात्, आपस्तम्बवाक्येऽपि 'युध्यमानो हत' इति उपादानात्, स्थानापत्त्या क्षत्रियातिरिक्तस्याऽपि क्षत्रियवृत्त्या जीवतो युद्धमरणं अत्यन्तं धर्मसाधनं, पलायनं सामर्थ्ये सति गोब्राह्मणादीनां असंरक्षणं चाऽत्यन्तं अधर्मसाधनमिति द्रष्टव्यम्" ।

2 I, 325, मिताक्षरा and अपरार्क more correctly read भग्नेष्वविनिवर्तिनाम् ।

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राजा सुकृतमादत्ते हतानां विपलायिनाम् ॥

मनुः[1] (340)

यस्तु भीतः परावृत्तः सङ्ग्रामे हन्यते परैः ।
भर्त्तुर्यद्दुष्कृतं किञ्चित्सर्वं तत्प्रतिपद्यते ॥

यदस्य[2] सुकृतं किञ्चिदमुत्रार्थमुपार्जितम् ।
भर्त्ता तत्सर्वमादत्ते परावृत्तहतस्य तु ॥

पराशरः

पतितं स्वामिनं युद्धे त्यक्त्वा यान्ति पराङ्मुखाः ।
ये तेषां पापबुद्धीनां ब्रह्महत्या पदे पदे ॥

आदित्यपुराणे[3]

सङ्ग्रामे प्रस्थितं भूपं भृत्यस्त्यजति यः क्षणात् ।
स तेन नृपदण्डेन मूढो नरकमृच्छति ॥

जित्वाऽरिं भोगसम्प्राप्तिर्मृतस्य च परा गतिः ।
निष्कृतिः स्वामिपिण्डस्य नाऽस्ति युद्धसमा गतिः ॥

शूराणां यद्विनिर्याति रक्तमाधावतां क्वचित् ।
तेनैव सह पाप्मानं सर्वं त्यजति वै मुने ॥

तथैव विचिकित्सायां वेदना सहते तु याम् ।
ततो नाऽस्त्यधिको लोके तपः परमदारुणम् ॥

मृतस्य नाऽस्ति संस्कारो नाऽऽशौचं नोदकक्रिया ।

1 VII, 94–95

2 Printed texts read : यच्चास्य

3 वी. मि., pp. 408–409

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कर्तुमिच्छति यस्येह सङ्ग्रामादधिकं हि किम् ॥
वराप्सरस्सहस्राणि शूरमायोधने हतम् ।
अभिद्रवन्ति कामार्त्ता मम भर्त्ता भविष्यति ॥
यः सहायान्न परित्यज्य स्वस्थः सन् गन्तुमिच्छति ।
अस्थितस्य च कुर्वन्ति देवाः शक्रपुरोगमाः ॥
शूरस्याऽग्रे यदा विप्र आर्त उत्क्रोशते भृशम् ।
न च तं त्रायते पापाच्छूरो नरकभाग्भवेत् ॥
ब्राह्मणानां गवां चैव रक्षार्थं हन्यते यदि ।
स शूरो जीवितं हित्वा इन्दुलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥

तथा

तोषयित्वा नृपं युद्धे राज्ञां [1]कृत्वाऽग्रतः स्थितः ।
जित्वा न हरति द्रव्यं स नरः स्वर्गमाश्रितः ॥
मृद्नाति यदि राष्ट्राणि यदा न हरते धनम् ।
यदि वध्येत तत्रैव स नरः स्वर्गमाश्रितः ॥

तथा[2]

प्रजार्थे निहता ये च राजानो धर्मतत्पराः ।
अग्निविद्युद्धता ये च सिंहव्याघ्रहताश्च ये ॥
प्राप्नुवन्ति च ते सर्वे पुरीमैरावतीमिमाम् ॥

1 A. S. B., हत्वा ; I. O., हुत्वा
2 वी. मि., p. 408

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मनुः[1]

रथाश्वं हस्तिनं छत्रं धनं धान्यं पशून् स्त्रियः।
सर्वद्रव्याणि कुप्यं च यो यज्जयति तस्य तत्॥
राज्ञश्च दद्युरुद्धारमित्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः[2]।
राज्ञा च सर्वयोधेभ्यो दातव्यमपृथग्जितम्॥

गौतमः[3]

जेता लभेत साङ्ग्रामिकं वित्तम्, वाहनं तु राज्ञः, उद्धारांश्चाऽपृथग्जये। अन्यत्तु यथार्हं भाजयेद्राजा।

मनुः[4]

जित्वा सम्पूजयेद्देवान् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिकान्।
प्रदद्यात्परिहारांश्च ख्यापयेदभयानि च॥

1 VII, 96–97; 'अपृथग्जितं' योधैस्सह सम्पूज्य जितम् (वी. मि., p. 409)

2 "उद्धारदाने च श्रुतिः–"इन्द्रो वै वृत्रं हत्वा" इत्युपक्रम्य "स महान् भूत्वा देवता अब्रवीदुद्धारं समुद्धरत" इति। (कुल्लूकः)

3 10, 19–22 Mss. corrupt: restored from printed text. मस्करिभाष्य, p. 162, explains :–यदि राज्ञा नियुक्तः परं निर्जित्य धनमासादयति स तत्साङ्ग्रामिकं धनं लभेत। अस्याऽपवादमाह 'वाहनं तु राज्ञः' वाहनं हस्त्यादि। 'तु' शब्दो विशेषवाची। 'अपृथग्जयः' सराजको जयः। तत्रोद्धारो राज्ञः सारद्रव्यम्। वाहनसमुच्चयार्थः चकारः। वी. मि., p. 409. also mangles the quotation.

4 VII, 201–204; वी. मि., p. 409

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सर्वेषां तु विदित्वैषां सममेव चिकीर्षितम् ।
स्थापयेत्तत्र तद्वंश्यं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥
प्रमाणानि च कुर्वीत तेषां धर्मान् यथोदितान् ।
रत्नैश्च पूजयेदेनं प्रधानपुरुषैः सह ॥
आदानमप्रियकरं दानं च प्रियकारकम् ।
अभीप्सितानामर्थानां कालयुक्तं प्रशस्यते ॥

['प्रदद्यात् परिहारान्'] राजग्राह्यमपि [1]'जनानुरागार्थं किञ्चिदंशं परित्यजेदित्यर्थः। 'प्रमाणानी'ति। यस्मिन्देशे ये धर्मास्ते तथैव पालनीयाः। 'कालयुक्तमि'ति। अप्रियकरमपि कालापेक्षया प्रशस्यत इत्यर्थः।

विष्णुः[2]

राजा परपुरप्राप्तौ तत्कुलीनमभिषिञ्चयेत्। न राजकुलमुच्छिन्द्यात् अन्यत्राऽकुलीनराजकुलात्।

1 A. S. B. प्रजा for जन; words in brackets necessary for elucidating the commentary.

2 3, 47–49; वी. मि, p. 411; compare, कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्र, p. 311: न च हतस्य भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारानभिमन्येत। कुल्यानप्यस्य स्वेषु पात्रेषु स्थापयेत्। कर्मणि मृतस्य पुत्रं राज्ये स्थापयेत्। एवमस्य दण्डोपनताः पुत्रपौत्रा अनुवर्तन्ते।

स्वभूमिषु च राजानः तस्मात्साम्नाऽनुपालिताः।
भवन्त्यनुगुणा राज्ञः पुत्रपौत्रानुवर्तिनः॥

Jolly, वि. स्मृ., p. 13 reads: परपुरावाप्तौ तु तत्र तत्कुलीनम्।

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कात्यायनः[1]

दुष्टस्याऽपि नरेन्द्रस्य तद्राष्ट्रं न विनाशयेत्।
न प्रजानुमतो यस्मादन्यायेषु प्रवर्तते ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

यस्मिन् देशे य आचारो व्यवहारः कुलस्थितः[3]।
तथैव परिपाल्योऽसौ यदा वशमुपागतः ॥

[अथ पौरुषम्]

मनुः[4]

सर्वं कर्मेदमायत्तं विधानं दैवमानुषे।
तत्र[5] दैवमचिन्त्यं च मानुषे विद्यते क्रिया ॥

1 Kane, v. 21 ; वी. मि., p. 411 explains it thus : 'राज्ञोऽन्यायवृत्तौ यतः प्रजानां अनुमतिः न इत्यतो राष्ट्रं न पीडयेदिति सिद्धे येषां अमात्यादीनामनुमत्याऽन्याये प्रवृत्तिः, तान् पीडयेदिति ध्येयम्।

2 I, 343

3 मिता., and अप., read : कुलस्थितिः; for the first quarter अप., follows the reading-किन्तु यस्मिन् य आचारः

4 VII, 205-210 ; वी. मि., pp. 312-313, which brings पौरुषं under मन्त्र, while कल्पतरु puts it under यात्रा

5 Printed texts read : तयोः for तत्र

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दैवमानुषसम्पन्ना यात्रा सर्वार्थसाधिका[1] ।
तस्यामतिशये दैवं वर्तते पौरुषं समम् ॥

केचित् पुरुषकारेण केचिद्दैवेन कर्मणा ।
उभाभ्यां केचिदिच्छन्ति फलं कुशलबुद्धयः ॥

दैवमानुषसद्भावे नार्या गर्भः प्रसिध्यति ।
पुंसा सत्यपि संयोगे दैवाभावे न सिद्ध्यति ॥

न हि दैवमुदासीनं कदाचिदपि मानवम् ।
अर्थानर्थफलेनेह संयुनक्त्यवशं क्वचित् ॥

काकतालीयवद्दैवाद् दृष्ट्वाऽपि निधिमग्रतः ।
न पौरुषादृते तेन विधिना युज्यते पुमान् ॥

श्रीरामायणे[2]

यस्तु नाऽऽरभते कार्यं नरो दैवपरायणः ।
क्षिप्रं भवति निर्द्रव्यः पलायनपरायणः ॥

तथा[3]

विक्लवो हीनवीर्यो यः सदैवमनुवर्त्तते ।
अविक्लवस्तु तेजस्वी न दैवमनुवर्त्तते[4] ॥

1 The ślokas which follow are not in *Manusmṛti*, but are cited as such by वी. मि., which blindly follows कल्प

2 वी. मि., p. 314 : not found in printed texts.

3 अयोध्याकाण्ड. 23, 16–18

4 Line missing in Udaipur Ms. Kumbakonam and Mylapore *edns.* give this and the two next verses thus :

वीराः सम्भावितात्मानो न दैवं पर्युपासते ।

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दैवं पुरुषकारेण यतते यः प्रबोधितुम् ॥
न स दैवविपन्नार्थः कदाचिदवसीदति ।

मत्स्यपुराणे[1]

दैवं पुरुषकारश्च कालश्च पुरुषोत्तम ।
त्रयमेतन्मनुष्यस्य पिण्डितं स्यात्फलाय वै[2] ॥
कृषिवृष्टिसमायोगादृदृश्यन्ते फलसिद्धयः ।
वर्षाकाले[3] प्रशस्यन्ते नैवाकाले कथञ्चन ॥

व्यासः[4]

विधिर्विधानं नियतिः स्वभावः
कालो ग्रहा ईश्वरकर्म दैवम् ।
भाग्यानि पुण्यानि कृतान्तयोगः
पर्यायनामानि पुराकृतस्य ॥

दैवमात्मकृतं विद्यात्कर्म यत्पौर्वदेहिकम् ।
स्मृतः पुरषकारस्तु क्रियते यदिहाऽपरम् ॥

[इति पौरुषम् ॥]

दैवं पुरुषकारेण यः समर्थः प्रबाधितुम् ।
न दैवेन विपन्नार्थः पुरुषः सोऽवसीदति ॥

1 म. पु., ch. 221 ; 8–11 ; वी. मि., p. 314, cites this passage as from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर also.

2 म. पु., and वी. मि., p. 314 , read फलावहम्

3 म. पु., नैवाकाले ; वी. मि., p. 314 , तास्तु काले; The reading in कल्पतरु–"वर्षाकाले" is specially noted by वी. मि., p. 314

4 वी. मि., p. 315

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मनुः[1]

सह वाऽपि व्रजेद्युक्तः सन्धिं कृत्वा प्रयत्नतः ।
मित्रं हिरण्यं भूमिं वा सम्पश्यंस्त्रिविधं फलम् ॥
पार्ष्णिग्राहं च सम्प्रेक्ष्य तथाऽऽक्रन्दं च मण्डले ।
मित्रादथाऽप्यमित्राद्वा यात्राफलमवाप्नुयात् ॥

विष्णुः[2]

परेणाभियुक्तश्च सर्वात्मना[स्वं] राष्ट्रं गोपायेत् ।

सर्वतश्चाऽऽत्मानं गोपायेत् ।

मनुः[3]

क्षेम्यां सस्यप्रदां नित्यं पशुवृद्धिकरीमपि ।
परित्यजेन्नृपो भूमिमात्मार्थमविचारयन् ॥
आपदर्थं[4] धनं रक्षेद्दारान् रक्षेद्धनैरपि ।

1 VII, 206–207 ; वी. मि., p. 412 , which comments thus : 'वा' शब्दः पूर्वोक्तयुद्धविकल्पार्थः । 'प्रयत्नतो युक्तः' यातव्येन प्रयत्नेन दूतप्रेषणादिना 'युक्तः' योगं प्राप्तः सन् । 'सह' तेन शत्रुणा सह । 'मित्रं हिरण्यं भूमिं वा त्रिविधं यत्फलं' तत् 'सम्पश्यन्' समीचीनमिति जानानः । तदन्यतरलाभे सन्धिं कृत्वा 'व्रजेत्' स्वपुरं यायात् । 'मण्डलं' द्वादशारिमण्डलम्········'सम्प्रेक्ष्य' तद्बलाबलं ज्ञात्वा । 'मित्रात्' मित्रत्वं प्राप्तात् यातव्यात् , अथवा अमित्रात् मैत्रीमकुर्वतो ऽयातव्यात् । 'यात्रायाः फलं' शत्रुजयम् । 'सन्धौ वा' मित्रादित्रितय-लाभान्यतरत् । 'अवाप्नुयात्' प्राप्नुयात् ।

2 3, 43 ; वी. मि., p. 412

3 VII, 212–215

4 I. O. and A. S. B., आपदर्थे ; वी. मि. follows text.

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आत्मा तु सर्वतो रक्ष्यो[1] दारैरपि धनैरपि ॥
सह सर्वाः समुत्पन्नाः प्रसमीक्ष्याऽऽपदो भृशम् ।
संयुक्तांश्च वियुक्तांश्च सर्वोपायान् जयेद्बुधः ॥
उपेतारं उपेयं च सर्वोपायांश्च कृत्स्नशः ।
एतत्त्रयं समाश्रित्य प्रयतेताऽऽत्मसिद्धये[2] ॥

इति यात्रा ॥

अथाऽभिषिक्तस्य कृत्यानि

तत्र मनुः[3]

(326-27)

इन्द्रियाणां जये योगं समातिष्ठेद्दिवानिशम् ।
जितेन्द्रियश्च[4] शक्नोति वशे स्थापयितुं प्रजाः ॥
दश कामसमुत्थानि तथाऽष्टौ क्रोधजानि च ।
व्यसनानि दुरन्तानि प्रयत्नेन विवर्जयेत् ॥
कामजेषु प्रसक्तो हि व्यसनेषु महीपतिः ।
वियुज्यतेऽर्थधर्माभ्यां[5] क्रोधजे स्वात्मनैव तु ॥
मृगयाऽक्षा दिवास्वप्नः परिवादः स्त्रियो मदः[6] ।

1 Printed texts : आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत् ; A. S. B., आत्मानं सर्वतो रक्षेत्

2 Printed texts : अर्थसिद्धये for आत्मसिद्धये, which वी. मि., p. 413, adopts.

3 VII, 44–53 ; वी. मि., disperses the verses thus : p. 118, p. 148, p. 147, p. 149

4 Printed texts : जितेन्द्रियो हि

5 वी. मि., p. 148, 'आत्मनैव वियुज्यते' मरणमापद्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

6 वी. मि., p. 148, 'परिवादः' परदोषकथनम् । 'वृथाट्या' वृथा

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तौर्यत्रिकं[1] वृथाट्या च कामजो दशको गुणः ॥
पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोहं ईर्ष्याऽसूयाऽर्थदूषणम् ।
वाग्दण्डजं च पारुष्यं क्रोधजोऽपि गणोऽष्टकः ॥
द्वयोरप्येतयोर्मूलं यं पूर्वे[2] कवयो विदुः ।
तं यत्नेन जयेल्लोभं तज्जावेतावुभौ गणौ ॥
पानमक्षाः स्त्रियश्चैव[3] मृगया च यथाक्रमम् ।
एतत् कष्टतरं विद्यात् चतुष्कं कामजे गणे ॥
दण्डस्य पातनं चैव वाक्पारुष्यार्थदूषणे ।
क्रोधजेऽपि गणे विद्यात्कष्टमेतत्त्रिकं सदा ॥
सप्तकस्याऽस्य वर्गस्य सर्वस्यैवाऽनुषङ्गिणः ।
पूर्वं पूर्वं गुरुतरं विद्याद्व्यसनमात्मनः[4] ॥

अटनम् । 'पैशुन्यं' अनभिव्यक्तदोषाविष्करणम् । 'साहसो' साधोर्बन्धनादिनिग्रहः । 'द्रोहः' ब्रह्मबन्धः । 'ईर्ष्या' परगुणासहिष्णुता । परगुणेषु दोषाविष्करणं 'असूया' । 'अर्थदूषणं' अर्थापहारो देयानामदानं च । 'वाक्पारुष्यं' आक्रोशादि । 'दण्डपारुष्यं' अल्पापराधेऽपि बहुलार्थग्रहणम्, शरीरदण्डो वा । Mitramisra reproduces these comments from Kullūka.

1 वी. मि., p. 148 : 'तौर्यत्रिकं' नृत्यगीतवाद्यानि । एतत्त्रिकमादाय दश कामजानि व्यसनानि ।

2 Printed texts : सर्वे for पूर्वे

3 Udaipur Ms. has omitted the next three lines, and joined the second half of the fourth to this line. Corrected by A. S. B. and I. O., as well as by the printed texts.

4 Printed texts : आत्मवान्

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व्यसनस्य च मृत्योश्च व्यसनं कष्टमुच्यते ।
व्यसन्यधोऽधो व्रजति स्वर्यात्यव्यसनी मृतः[1] ॥

महाभारते

पानमक्षास्तथा[2] नार्यो मृगया गीतवादिते ।
एतानि युक्त्या सेवेत प्रसङ्गो ह्यत्र दोषवान् ॥
यस्तु संसेवमानोऽपि धर्मार्थाभ्यां न हीयते ।
कामं तदुपसेवेत न मूढव्रतमाचरेत् ॥
न कामपर एव स्यात् सर्वान् सेवेत सर्वदा[3] ।
धर्मं पूर्वं धनं मध्ये जघन्ये काममाचरेत् ॥
धर्मार्थौ यः समुत्सृज्य काममेवाऽनुवर्त्तते ।
तस्मादुद्विजते लोकः सर्पाद्वेश्मगतादिव[4] ॥
तस्माद्धर्मप्रधानेन सेव्योऽर्थः संयतात्मना ।
विश्वासयित्वा भूतानि साम्ना समुपरामयेत् ॥
धर्मार्थकामसंयुक्तः सोऽमुत्रेह च नन्दति ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 149 : 'अधोऽधो व्रजति' नरकं प्रतिपद्यत इत्यर्थः । नरकाणां पाताल एव वर्णितत्वात् ।

2 A. S. B. and I. O., पानमक्षास्तथा

3 Compare कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्र (Mysore *edn.*) p. 12 : "धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निस्सुखः स्यात् । समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योन्यानुबन्धम् । Compare also वात्स्यायनीयकामसूत्रम् (*ed.* Durgāprasād), p. 27

4 Line omitted by I. O.

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तथा

ऊषरेष्वपि वर्षन्तं पात्रेषु मृदुवर्षिणम्[1] ।
पर्जन्यमपि निन्दन्ति किं पुनर्वसुधाधिपम् ॥

तथा

प्रियं ब्रूयादकृपणः शूरः स्यादविकत्थनः[2] ।
दाता नाऽपात्रवर्षी स्यात्प्रगल्भः स्यादनिष्ठुरः ॥

विष्णुः[3]

आयद्वाराणि नोच्छिन्द्यान्नाऽपात्रवर्षी स्यात् ।

'आयद्वाराणि' द्रव्योत्पत्तिस्थानानि[4] ।

मत्स्यपुराणे[5]

व्यसनानि च सर्वाणि भूपतिः परिवर्जयेत्[6] ।

1 Omitted by I. O. ; cited by वी. मि., p. 126

2 वी. मि., p. 125

3 3, 53

4 Nanda Pandita reads : आयद्वाराणि for आयद्वाराणि and explains it thus : 'स्वपुरे परपुरे दुर्गेषु वा 'आयद्वाराणि' पूर्वराजकृतानि तोरणगोपुरादीनि' । वी. मि., p. 125 explains : 'आयद्वाराणि' द्रव्योत्पत्तिस्थानानि खनिशुल्कप्रभृतीनि ।

5 म. पु., ch. 220. The verses are quoted in the text in a different order from that in म. पु.

6 वी. मि., p. 147 , which attributes them to विष्णुधर्मोत्तर also.

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लोकसङ्ग्रहणार्थाय कृतकव्यसनी भवेत् ॥

तथा

अर्थस्य दूषणं राजा द्विःप्रकारं विवर्ज्जयेत् ।
अर्थानां दूषणं चैकं तथैवाऽर्थेन दूषणम् ॥
प्राकाराणां समुच्छेदो दुर्गादीनामसत्क्रिया ।
अर्थानां दूषणं प्रोक्तं विप्रकीर्णत्वमेव च ॥
अदेशकाले यद्दानमपात्रे दानमेव च ।
अर्थैस्तु दूषणं प्रोक्तमसत्कर्मप्रवर्तनम् ॥
कामः[1] क्रोधो मदो मानो लोभो हर्षस्तथैव च ।
जेतव्यो रिपुषड्वर्ग आन्तरः पृथिवीक्षिता ॥
एतेषां विजयं कृत्वा कार्यो भृत्यजयस्ततः ।
कृत्वा भृत्यजयं राजा पौरजानपदान् जयेत् ॥
कृत्वा च विजयं तेषां शत्रून् बाह्यांस्ततो जयेत् ।
न राज्ञा मृदुना भाव्यं मृदुर्हि परिहीयते[2] ॥
न भाव्यं दारुणेनाऽपि तीक्ष्णादुद्विजते जनः ।
भृत्यैः सह महीपालः परिहासं विवर्ज्जयेत् ॥
भृत्याः परिभवन्तीह नृपं हर्षवशं गतम् ॥

मनुः[3]

अहन्यहन्यवेक्षेत कर्मान्तान्वाहनानि च ।

1 All that follows to "उशनाः" below is omitted by I. O.

2 A. S. B., परिभूयते, which is म. पु. (220, 22) reading.

3 IX, 419

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आयव्ययौ च नियतावाकरान् कोशमेव च ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[1]

धर्मेणाऽलब्धमीहेत लब्धं यत्नेन पालयेत्[2] ।
पालितं वर्द्धयेन्नित्यं वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥

उशनाः

आदाने च विसर्गे च तथा प्रैषनिषेधयोः ।
पञ्चमे वाऽथ वचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे ॥
दण्डशुद्धौ सदा युक्त आत्मशुद्धौ तथैव च ।
अष्टकर्मा दिवं याति राजा शक्राभिपूजितः ॥

महाभारते

सदाऽधिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्मा हि पार्थिवः ।
विनीतात्मा हि नृपतिर्न क्वचित्परिभूयते ॥
न राज्यं प्राप्तमित्येव वर्तितव्यमसाम्प्रतम् ।
श्रियं ह्यविनयो हन्ति जरा रूपमिवोत्तमम् ॥
ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि ।

1 I, 317

2 मिता., and अप., read : 'अलब्धमीहेद्धर्मेण' ; Udaipur Ms. reads : धर्मेण लब्धं, but the sense as shown by मिताक्षरा is 'अलब्धलाभाय धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण ईहेत' compare मनु., VII, 101 :—

अलब्धमिच्छेद्दण्डेन लब्धं रक्षेदवेक्षया ।
रक्षितं वर्द्धयेद्वृद्ध्या वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥

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विद्यानां ग्रहणं कार्यं यथान्यायं नराधिपः ॥
त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं प्रयोक्तृतः ।
आन्वीक्षिकीं तर्कविद्यां वार्तारम्भांश्च लोकतः ॥
सर्वः सर्वं न जानाति सर्वज्ञो नाऽस्ति कश्चन[1] ।
नैकत्र परिनिष्ठाऽस्ति ज्ञानस्य पुरुषे क्वचित् ॥
अप्युत्तमान् प्रलपतो बालाच्च परिजल्पतः ।
सर्वतस्सारमादद्यादश्मभ्य इव काञ्चनम् ॥
धनुर्वेदेतिहासे च यत्नः कार्यो विजानता ।
हस्तिपृष्ठेऽश्वपृष्ठे च रथचर्यासु चैव हि ॥
द्वौ भागावितिहासार्थं भागस्त्रय्यां विधीयते ।
इष्वस्त्रादिषु भागोऽन्यः चतुर्द्धैवमहः स्मृतम् ॥
येषां त्रीण्यवदातानि योनिर्विद्या च कर्म च ।
तान्सेवेत्तैः सहास्या हि शास्त्रेभ्योऽपि गरीयसी ॥
गुरुपूजां च सततं वृद्धानां पर्य्युपासनम् ।
श्रवणं चैव विद्यानां कुर्वन् श्रेयोऽधिगच्छति ॥
न वै श्रुतमविज्ञाय वृद्धाननुपसेव्य च ।
धर्मार्थौ विदितुं शक्यौ बृहस्पतिसमैरपि ॥
विद्यावृद्धान् [2]सदैव त्वमुपासीथा नराधिप ।
शृणुया यच्च ते ब्रूयुः कुर्याश्चैवाऽविचारयन् ॥
सहस्रमपि मूर्खाणां यद्युपास्ते महीपतिः ।

1 Cited in वी. मि., pp. 131–133
2 From here there is a big lacuna in I. O.; A. S. B. is corrupt in this śloka.

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अथवाऽप्ययुतान्येव नाऽस्ति तेषु सहायिता ॥
एकोऽपि शास्त्रवित्प्राज्ञो गुरूणां पर्युपासितः ।
राजानं राजपुत्रं वा प्रापयेन्महतीं श्रियम् ॥
सदैव हितकामानां सुहृदां न शृणोति यः ।
प्राज्ञानां कृतविद्यानां स नरः शत्रुनन्दनः ॥
आदावेव मनुष्येण वर्तितव्यं यथाक्रमम् ।
तथा नाऽतीतमर्थं वै पश्चात्तापेन शोचति ॥
अर्थानामीश्वरो यः स्यादिन्द्रियाणामनीश्वरः ।
इन्द्रियाणामनैश्वर्यादैश्वर्याद्भ्रश्यतीह सः ॥
सन्नियच्छति यो वेगमुत्थितं कामहर्षयोः ।
स श्रियो भाजनं राजन् पश्चाद्यस्तु न मुह्यति ॥
नाऽवमान्या बुद्धिमद्भिर्नावरोत्कृष्टमध्यमाः ।
न हि मानप्रदग्धानां कश्चिदस्ति मदं क्वचित् ॥
अवृत्तेर्भयमन्त्यानां[1] मध्यानां मरणाद्भयम् ।
उत्तमानां तु मर्त्यानामवमानात्परं भयम् ॥
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा चक्षुषा च चतुर्विधम् ।
प्रसादयति यो लोकं तं लोको न प्रसीदति ॥

यो नोद्धतं जातु करोति वेषं
न पौरुषेणाऽपि विकत्थते च ।
नात्याह किञ्चित् क्षमते विवादं
सर्वत्र तादृक् लभते प्रशंसाम् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 133 : 'अन्त्यानां' अधमानां मर्त्यानाम् । 'अवृत्तेः' जीविकानाशात् भयम् ।

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राज्ञोऽधिकमित्यनुवृत्तौ गौतमः[1]

योगश्च विजये भये विशेषेण चर्या च रथधनुर्भ्याम्।

'योगः'[2] उद्योगः। 'विजये' आत्मेन्द्रियामात्यादीनां वशीकारेऽभियोगः कार्यः। 'भये' विशेषेण अन्येनाऽभिभवे उपस्थिते तद्रक्षणार्थं विशेषेणोद्यमः कर्तव्यः। 'चर्य्या' पर्यटनम्। तद्वाहनायुधवता कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः।

मनुः[3] (342)

नित्यमुद्धृतदण्डः[4] स्यान्नित्यं विधृतपौरुषः।
नित्यं संवृतसञ्चार्यो[5] नित्यं छिद्रानुसार्यरेः॥
नित्यमुद्धृतदण्डस्य कृत्स्नमुद्विजते जगत्।
तस्मात्सर्वाणि भूतानि दण्डेनैव प्रसाधयेत्॥
अमाययैव वर्त्तेत न कथञ्चन मायया।

1 10, 12-14 ; वी. मि., p. 133

2 Lacuna in I. O. ; मस्करिभाष्य., explains :-अलब्धलाभो 'योगः'। वाल्लभ्यादिना यैराटविकादिभिः करो न दत्तः तान् यत्नतो गृह्णीयादित्यर्थः। चकारात् लब्धपरिरक्षणं च। 'भयं'. अन्याभिभवः। तस्मिन् विशेषेणाऽत्यन्तं योगक्षेमौ कर्तव्यौ। 'चर्या' राष्ट्रस्य सर्वतोऽटनम्। 'रथ'ग्रहणं हस्त्यश्वादिवाहनोपलक्षणम्। 'धनु'र्ग्रहणम् खड्गादीनाम्। चकारादेकस्मिन्नवस्थानं च। चर्यावस्थानयोः व्यवस्था कार्यवशाद्द्रष्टव्या। (pp. 160-161)

3 VII, 102-106 ; वी. मि., pp. 133-4

4 Printed texts : उद्यतदण्डः and विवृतपौरुषः

5 *Ibid*, संवार्यो

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बुध्येताऽरिप्रयुक्तां च मायां नित्यं सुसंवृतः[1] ॥
नाऽस्य छिद्रं परो विद्याच्छिन्द्याच्छिद्रं परस्य तु ।
गूहेत्कूर्म इवाऽङ्गानि रक्षेद्विवरमात्मनः ॥
बकवच्चिन्तयेदर्थान् सिंहवच्च पराक्रमेत् ।
वृकवच्चाऽनुलिम्पेत[2] शशवच्च विनिष्पतेत् ॥

तथा[3]

तीक्ष्णश्चैव मृदुश्च स्यात्कार्यं वीक्ष्य महीपतिः ।
तीक्ष्णश्चैव मृदुश्चैव राजा भवति सम्मतः ॥

राजेत्यनुवृत्तौ विष्णुः

सुदर्शनश्च स्याद्विषघ्वागदमन्त्रधारी च नाऽपरीक्षितमु-
पयुञ्ज्यात्स्मितपूर्वभाषी [4]स्याद्वध्येष्वपि न भ्रुकुटिमाचरेत् ।

'अगदः' औषधम् ।

मत्स्यपुराणे[5]

शौण्डीरस्य नरेन्द्रस्य नित्यमुद्रिक्तचेतसः ।
जना उद्वेगमायान्ति सदा दुःखविभाविताः ॥
अदीर्घसूत्रश्च भवेत्सर्वकर्मसु पार्थिवः ।
दीर्घसूत्रस्य नृपतेः कर्महानिर्ध्रुवं भवेत् ॥

1 Printed text : स्वसंवृतः
2 *Ibid*, अवलुम्पेत
3 VII, 140
4 A. S. B., वध्येष्वपि
5 म. पु., ch. 220, (p. 468)

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रागे दर्पे च माने च क्रोधे पापे च कर्मणि ।
अप्रिये चैव कर्तव्ये दीर्घसूत्रः प्रशस्यते ॥

नाऽऽरोहेत्कुञ्जरं व्यालं नाऽदान्तं तुरगं तथा ।
नाऽविज्ञातां स्त्रियं गच्छेन्नैव देवोत्सवे वसेत् ॥

शङ्खलिखितौ[1]

राजा स्वस्वाधीनवृत्तिरात्मप्रत्ययकोशः स्वयं कृत्यानुदर्शी विप्रस्वनिवृत्तश्चिरं भद्राणि पश्यति ।

यमः[2]

याचितो नेति न ब्रूयादीक्षितो नाऽनृतं वदेत् ।
सङ्ग्रामे न निवर्त्तेत तं देवाः क्षत्रियं विदुः ॥

दाता यज्वा च शूरश्च देवद्विजपरायणः ।
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु चिरं पालयते महीम् ॥

मार्कण्डेयपुराणे[3]

अहो तितिक्षा माहात्म्यं अहो दानफलं महत् ।
पद्भ्यां गतो हरिश्चन्द्रः पुरश्चेन्द्रत्वमागतः ॥

यमः

अन्तर्दोषं समुत्पन्नमाकारेणोपलक्षयेत् ।
शंक्येषु शङ्कितो नित्यं रक्षेच्छक्त्या सदोत्थितः ॥
पापानां निग्रहं कुर्यात्साधूनां परिपालनम् ।

1 वी. मि., p. 134

2 वी. मि., p. 136

3 8, 268 (*ed*. Jibānanda) ; वी. मि., p. 135

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यथाक्रमं च वृद्धानां काले काले निषेवणम् ॥

शङ्खलिखितौ[1]

स्वपक्षे परपक्षे च स्थानवृद्धिक्षयाश्रयः ।
स्थानादीनां विभागश्च काले द्रव्यार्थसङ्ग्रहः ॥

मनुः[2]

सङ्ग्रामेष्वनिवर्तित्वं[3] प्रजानां परिपालनम् ।
ब्राह्मणानां च शुश्रूषा राज्ञो निःश्रेयसं परम् ॥

नारदः[4]

सतामनुग्रहो नित्यमसतां निग्रहस्तथा ।
एष धर्मः स्मृतो राज्ञामर्थश्चापि भवेत्ततः[5] ॥

तस्य वृत्तिः प्रजारक्षा वृद्धप्राज्ञोपसेवनम् ।
दर्शनं व्यवहाराणामात्मनश्चाऽभिरक्षणम् ॥

यमः[6]

समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु नयानयविशारदः ।
नैकः कार्याणि यः कुर्यात्सोऽत्यन्तं याति मेदिनीम् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 135 , where the verse is explained.

2 VII, 88

3 Printed texts read : प्रजानां चैव, and राज्ञां श्रेयस्करं परम्

4 XVII, 17 ; वी. मि., p. 135

5 Jolly (p. 218) reads अर्थश्चामित्रपीडनात् for अर्थश्चा-पि भवेत्ततः

6 वी. मि., p. 134

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तथा

पर्जन्यमिव भूतानि महाद्रुममिवाऽण्डजाः ।
भृत्या यमुपजीवन्ति स राजा शक्रलोकभाक् ॥

कात्यायनः[1]

गच्छेत्सम्यगविज्ञाय वशं क्रोधस्य यो नृपः ।
वसेत्स नरके घोरे कल्पार्द्धं तु न संशयः ॥

ब्रह्मपुराणे[2]

नित्यं राज्ञा समुत्थाय पूजनीयाः सुरद्विजाः ।
वह्निसम्पूजनं कार्यं द्रष्टव्यं चन्दनं घृतम् ॥
श्रोतव्ये तिथिनक्षत्रे कर्त्तव्यं वैद्यभाषितम् ॥

शङ्खलिखितौ[3]

राज्ञः प्रत्यहं घृतान्वीक्षणं, मङ्गलदर्शनं, कपिलाप्रदानं, स्वलङ्कृतस्य सम्भाषणं, वैद्यदर्शनं, सप्रहासं सविकल्पं विनयपूर्वं वृद्धेषु ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः[4]

ऋत्विक् पुरोहिताचार्यैराशीर्भिरभिनन्दितः ।
दृष्ट्वा ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान् दद्याद्गां काञ्चनं महीम् ॥

1 Kane, 10
2 वी. मि., p. 158
3 वी. मि., p. 158, which omits the second half.
4 I, 332–333 ; वी. मि., p. 158

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नैवेशिकानि च ततः श्रोत्रियाणां[1] गृहाणि च ॥

सभामित्यनुवृत्तौ बृहस्पतिः[2]

पूर्वाह्णे तामधिष्ठाय वृद्धामात्यानुजीविनः ।
पश्येत्सुरान् स धर्मार्थशास्त्राणि शृणुयात्तथा ॥

मनुः[3]

स्वे स्वे धर्मे निविष्टानां सर्वेषामनुपूर्वशः ।
वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च राजा सृष्टो हि रक्षिता[4] ॥

तेन यद्यत्सभृत्येन कर्तव्यं रक्षता प्रजाः ।
तत्तद्वोऽहं प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावदनुपूर्वशः ॥

ब्राह्मणान् पर्युपासीत प्रातरुत्थाय पार्थिवः ।
त्रैविद्यवृद्धान्विदुषस्तिष्ठेत्तेषां च शासने ॥

वृद्धांश्च नित्यं सेवेत विप्रान् वेदविदः शुचीन् ।
वृद्धसेवी च सततं रक्षोभिरपि पूज्यते ॥

तेभ्योऽधिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्माऽपि नित्यशः ।
विनीतात्मा हि नृपतिर्न विनश्यति कर्हिचित् ॥
वनस्थाश्चैव[5] राज्यानि विनयात्प्रतिपेदिरे ॥

1 मिता., reads : श्रोत्रियेभ्यः ; अप., follows the reading श्रोत्रियाणाम्

2 वी. मि., p. 158 : 'तां' सभाम् । 'सुरान्' भूसुरान् । पूर्ववाक्ये तत्रस्थान् ब्राह्मणानित्युपादनात् ।

3 VII, 35-43

4 Printed texts : अभिरक्षिता

5 Printed texts : वनस्था अपि

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बहवोऽविनयान्नष्टा राजानः सपरिच्छदाः ॥
वेनो विनष्टोऽविनयान्नहुषश्चैव पार्थिवः ।
सुदाः पैजवनश्चैव सुमुखो निमिरेव च ॥
पृथुश्च विनयाद्राज्यं प्राप्तवान्मनुरेव च ।
कुबेरश्च धनैश्वर्यं ब्राह्मण्यं चैव गाधिजः ॥
त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शाश्वतीम् ।
आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां वार्त्तारम्भांश्च सर्वतः[1] ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[2]

कृतरक्षः समुत्थाय पश्येदायव्ययौ स्वयम् ।
व्यवहारान् ततो दृष्ट्वा [3]श्रुत्वा भुञ्जीत कामतः ॥

मनुः[4]

एवं सर्वमिदं राजा सह संमन्त्र्य मन्त्रिभिः ।
व्यायम्याऽऽप्लुत्य मध्याह्ने भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं व्रजेत् ॥
तत्राऽऽत्मभूतैः कालज्ञैः आहार्यैः परिचारिकैः ।
सुपरीक्षितमन्नाद्यमद्यान्मन्त्रैर्विषापहैः ॥

1 Printed texts : लोकतः for सर्वतः, which is in accordance with अर्थशास्त्र ; cf. कोटिलीयार्थशास्त्र, (Mysore *edn.*) p. 10 : "वृत्तोपनयनः त्रयीं आन्वीक्षकीं च शिष्टेभ्यः, वार्तां अध्यक्षेभ्यः, दण्डनीतिं वक्तृप्रयोक्तृभ्यः"

2 I, 327

3 अप., and मिता., read 'स्नात्वा' for 'श्रुत्वा'

4 VII, 216–220 ; वी. मि., pp. 160–1

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विषघ्नैरुदकैश्चाऽस्य[1] सर्वद्रव्याणि नेजयेत् ।
विषघ्नानि च रत्नानि नियतो धारयेत्सदा ॥
परीक्षिताः स्त्रियश्चैनं व्यञ्जनोदकधूपनैः ।
वेषाभरणसंयुक्ताः[2] संस्पृशेयुः समाहिताः ॥
एवं प्रयत्नं कुर्वीत यानशय्यासनाशने ।
स्नाने प्रसाधने चैव सर्वालङ्कारकादिषु[3] ॥

मत्स्यपुराणे[4]

विषाच्च रक्ष्यो नृपतिस्तत्र युक्तिं निबोध मे ।
क्रीडानिमित्तं नृपतिर्धारयेन्मृगपक्षिणः ॥
अन्नं वै प्राक् परीक्षेत वह्नौ चाऽन्यतमेषु च ।
वस्त्रं पत्रमलङ्कारं भोजनाच्छादनं तथा ॥
नाऽपरीक्षितपूर्वन्तु स्पृशेदपि महीपतिः ।
श्यावास्यचक्रः सन्तप्तः सोद्वेगं च निरीक्ष्यते ॥

'श्यावास्यचक्रः' ईषत्कृष्णश्वेतमुखमण्डलः ।

विषादो वा विषं दत्वा यत्र तत्र निरीक्षते[5] ॥

1 Printed texts read : अगदैः for उदकैः and योजयेत् for नेजयेत्

2 *Ibid.*, संशुद्धाः स्पृशेयुः सुसमाहिताः ; A. S. B. reads सम्मृशेयुः समाहिताः

3 *Ibid.*, अलङ्कारकेषु च

4 म. पु., ch. 219, 8–34 ; वी. मि., pp. 162–163. Compare Kautilya, *Arthas'āstra* , I. ch. XXI.

5 म. पु., ch. 219, 11 : विषदोऽथ विषं दत्तं तच्च तत्र परीक्षते ।

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स्रस्तोत्तरीयो विमनाः स्तम्भकुड्यादिभिस्तथा ।
प्रच्छादयति चाऽऽत्मानं लज्जति स्खलते तथा[1] ॥
भुवं विलेखति ग्रीवां तथा चालयति द्विजान्[2] ।
कण्डूयति च मूर्द्धानं परिलक्ष्यो नरः सदा[3] ॥
क्रियासु त्वरितो राजन् विपरीतास्वपि ध्रुवम् ।
एवमादीनि चिह्नानि विषदस्य परीक्षयेत् ॥
ततो[4] विचारयेदग्नौ तदन्नं त्वरयाऽन्वितः ।
इन्द्रायुधसवर्णोऽग्निरूक्षः स्फोटसमन्वितः ॥
एकवर्णोऽथ दुर्गन्धि भृशं चटचटायते ।
तद्धूमदर्शनाज्जन्तोः[5] शिरोरोगश्च जायते ॥
सविषेऽन्ने विलीयन्ते न च पार्थिव मक्षिकाः ।
निलीनाश्च विपद्यन्ते दृष्टे च सविषे तथा ॥
विरज्यति चकोरस्य दृष्टिः पार्थिवसत्तम ।
विकृतिं च स्वरो याति कोकिलस्य तथा नृप ॥
गतिस्स्खलति हंसस्य भृङ्गराजश्च कूजति ।
क्रौञ्चो मदमथाऽभ्येति कृकवाकुर्विरौति च ॥
विक्रोशति शुको राजन् सारिका वमते तथा ।
चामीकरोऽन्यतो याति मृत्युं कारण्डवस्तथा ॥
मेहते वानरो राजन् ग्लायते जीवजीवकः ।

1 म. पु., p. 466 , त्वरते for स्खलते
2 *Ibid.*, तथा चालयते नृप
3 *Ibid.*, परिलोड्याऽऽननं तथा ।
4 *Ibid.*, समीपे विक्षिपेद्वह्नौ
5 *Ibid.*, तद्धूमसेवनात्

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हृष्टरोमा भवेद्भृत्यः पृष्ठतश्चैव रोदिति ॥
हर्षमायाति च शिखी विषसन्दर्शनान्नृप: ।
अन्नं च सविषं राजन् चिरेण च विपच्यते ॥
तथा भवति साश्रावं पक्कं पर्युषितोपमम्[1] ।
व्यापन्नरसगन्धं च चन्द्रिकाभिस्तथा युतम् ॥
व्यञ्जनानां च शुष्कत्वं द्रवाणां बुद्बुदोद्भवः ।
ससैन्धवानां द्रव्याणां जायते फेनमालिका ॥
सस्यराजिश्च ताम्रा स्यान्नीला च पयसस्तथा ।
कोकिलाभा च मद्यस्य तोयस्य च नृपोत्तम ॥
धान्याम्लस्य तथा कृष्णा कपिला कोद्रवस्य च ।
मधुश्यामा च तक्रस्य नीलपीता तथैव च ॥
घृतस्योदकसंकाशा कपोताभा च मस्तुनः ।
हरिता माक्षिकस्याऽपि तैलस्य च तथाऽरुणा ॥
फलानामप्यपक्वानां पाकः क्षिप्रं प्रजायते[2] ।
प्रक्लेदश्चैव पक्वानामाम्लानां म्लानता तथा ॥
मृदुता कठिनानां च मृदूनां च विपर्ययः ।
सूक्ष्मतन्तूपसदनं तथा चैवाऽतिरोमता[3] ॥
श्यामण्डलता चैव वस्त्राणां च विशेषतः ।
लोहानां च मणीनां च मलपङ्कोपदिग्धता ॥

1 म. पु., p. 467 : तदा भवति निश्श्राव्यं पक्षपर्युषितोपमम् ।

2 Omitted by Udaipur Ms. : supplied by I. O. and A. S. B.

3 म. पु., p. 467 : सूक्ष्माणां रूपदलनं तथा चैवाऽतिरञ्जता ।

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अनुलेपनगन्धानां[माल्या]नां[1] च नृपोत्तम।
विगन्धता च विज्ञेया पर्णानां म्लानता तथा॥
[पीतावभासता ज्ञेया तथा राजन् जलस्य तु ।
दन्ता ओष्ठौ त्वचः श्यामः तनुसत्वास्तथैव च[2] ॥]
एवमादीनि चिह्नानि विज्ञेयानि नृपोत्तम।
तस्माद्राजा सदा तिष्ठेन्मणिमन्त्रौषधागदैः॥
उक्तैः संरक्षितो राजा प्रमादपरिवर्जकः॥

प्रजातरोर्मूलमिहाऽवनीश-
स्तद्रक्षणाद्वृद्धिमुपैति राज्यम्[3]।
तस्मात्प्रयत्नेन नृपस्य रक्षा
सर्वेण कार्या रविवंशचन्द्र॥

मनुः[4]

भुक्तवान्विहरेच्चैव स्त्रीभिरन्तःपुरे सह।
विहृत्य च तथा कालं पुनः कार्याणि चिन्तयेत्॥
अलङ्कृतस्तथा पश्येदायुधीयं पुनर्जनम्।
वाहनानि च सर्वाणि वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[5]

हिरण्यं व्यापृतानीतं भाण्डागारे न्यसेत्ततः[6]।

1 Gap in both A. S. B. and I. O., which give-नाना
2 [ ] Omitted in Mss. and in वी. मि., p. 164
3 म. पु., p. 467, वृद्धिं for राज्यम्
4 VII, 221–222 ; वी. मि., p. 167
5 I, 328-330
6 मिता., reads 'भाण्डागारेषु निक्षिपेत्' but अप., follows the

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पश्येच्चोरान् [1]तथा दूतान् प्रेषयेन्मन्त्रिसङ्गतः ॥

ततः स्वैरविहारी स्यान्मन्त्रिभिर्वा समागतः ।
बलानां दर्शनं कृत्वा सेनान्या सह चिन्तयेत् ॥

सन्ध्यामुपास्य शृणुयाच्चाराणां गूढभाषितम् ।
गीतनृत्ये[2] च युञ्जीत पठेत्स्वाध्यायमेव च ॥

मनुः[3]

सन्ध्यामुपास्य शृणुयादन्तर्वेश्मनि शस्त्रभृत् ।
रहस्याख्यायिनां चैव प्रणिधीनां च चेष्टितम् ॥

गत्वा कक्षान्तरं त्वन्यत् समनुज्ञाप्य तं जनम् ।
प्रविशेद्भोजनार्थं तु स्त्रीवृतोऽन्तःपुरं पुनः ॥

तत्र भुक्त्वा पुनः किञ्चित्तूर्यघोषैः प्रहर्षितः ।
संविशेच्च यथाकालमुत्तिष्ठेच्च गतक्लमः ॥

शङ्खलिखितौ[4]

राज्ञः शङ्खपटहतूर्येण प्रस्वापोत्थानम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः[5]

संविशेत्तूर्यघोषेण प्रतिबुध्येत्तथैव च ।

text : वी. मि., p. 167 explains 'व्यापृतानीतं' व्यापृतैराकरादिद्रव्यार्जनस्थानेषु नियुक्तैरानीतम्

1 मिता., reads तथा for ततः, but अप., follows the text.

2 मिता., and अप., read गीतनृत्यैश्च ; वी. मि., भुञ्जीत for युञ्जीत. 'स्वाध्यायं' वेदामिति वी. मि.

3 VII, 223–225 ; वी. मि., p. 167–168

4 वी. मि., p. 154

5 I, 331–332 ; वी. मि., p. 154

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शास्त्राणि चिन्तयेद्बुद्ध्वा सर्वकर्तव्यतां तथा[1] ॥
प्रेषयेच्च ततश्चारान् स्वेष्वन्येषु च सादरम् ॥

'स्वेषु' स्वसामन्तादिषु। 'अन्येषु' महीपतिषु[2]।

मनुः[3]

एतद्वृत्तं समातिष्ठेदरोगः पृथिवीपतिः।
अस्वस्थः सर्वमेवैतन्मन्त्रिमुख्ये निवेशयेत् ॥

कात्यायनः[4]

शौर्यविद्यार्थबाहुल्यात्प्रभुत्वाच्च विशेषतः।
सदा चित्तं नरेन्द्राणां मोहमायाति कारणात् ॥
तस्माच्चित्तं प्रबोद्धव्यं राजधर्मे सदा द्विजैः।
पवित्रं परमं पुण्यं श्रुतिवाक्यं[5] न लङ्घयेत् ॥

1 मिता., and अप., read सर्वकर्तव्यतास्तथा ; मिता., and वी. मि., read बुध्या for बुद्ध्वा, but अप., follows the text and adds the explanation 'ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते बुद्ध्वा'

2 मिता., gives the identical explanation ; अप., interpretes अन्येषु as अमित्रादिषु राजसु, restricting the despatch of spies to enemy dominions. वी. मि., p. 154 copies the comment in कल्पतरु

3 VII, 226

4 Kane , 4–5 ; वी. मि., p. 136

5 A. S. B., स्मृतिवाक्यं ; so वी. मि., p. 120 ; 'द्विजैः' करणभूतैः, राज्ञा स्वचित्तं राजधर्मे प्रबोद्धव्यम्।

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विष्णुः[1]

राजा सर्वेषु कार्येषु सांवत्सराधीनः स्यात्[2] ।

तथा

शान्तिस्वस्त्ययनैर्दैवोपघातान् प्रशमयेत् । परचक्रोपघातांश्च शस्त्रनित्यतया ।

वेदेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रकुशलं कुलीनमव्यङ्गं तपस्विनं च पुरोहितं [वरयेत्] ।

'शस्त्रनित्यतया' शस्त्राभ्यासपरत्वेन[3] ।

गौतमः[4]

ब्राह्मणं च पुरोदधीत । विद्याभिजनवाग्रूपवयश्शील-

1 3, 75

2 Mss. read incorrectly सांवत्सरीकाधीनः

3 वि. स्मृ., 67–70 ; the last sūtra ends with वरयेत् , वी. मि., p. 137 omits, following *Kalpataru*.

4 11, 12–20 , and वी. मि., p. 136 ; मस्करिभाष्य (pp. 180–182) comments thus :—

"ब्राह्मणं 'पुरः' अग्रे सर्वकार्येषु कुर्यात् । च शब्दात् सेनापतिं च कुर्यात् । 'विद्या' शब्देन अथर्ववेद उच्यते, स एव शान्त्यादिकर्मसमर्थ इति । 'अभिजनः' चारित्रं, तद्वान् कार्ये प्रवर्तत इति । 'शीलसम्पन्नः' क्षमायुक्तः । 'न्यायवृत्तः' अविरुद्धलोकाचारोपेतः । 'तपस्वी' ऋतावेव गमनशीलः । 'तत' शब्दः सर्वसहायोपसङ्ग्रहार्थः । 'प्रसूतः' अभ्यनुज्ञातः । 'कर्माणि' दृष्टादृष्टार्थानि । 'हि' शब्दो यस्मादर्थे । 'ऋध्यते' अवश्यं तत्फलेन युज्यते । 'न व्यथते' अन्यथा न भवति । 'इति च' शब्दौ श्रुतिद्वयसूचनार्थम् । विचार्य एव कर्तव्यानीत्येवमर्थः । 'दैवचिन्तकाः' ज्योतिश्शास्त्रविदः । 'उत्पातचिन्तकाः' शकुननिमित्तज्ञाः । 'तान्या-

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सम्पन्नम्। न्यायवृत्तं तपस्विनम्। तत्प्रसूतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत। ब्रह्मप्रसूतं हि क्षत्रमृध्यते न व्यथत इति च विज्ञायते। यानि च दैवोत्पातचिन्तकाः प्रब्रूयुस्तान्याद्रियेत। तदधीनमप्येके योगक्षेमं प्रतिजानते। शान्तिपुण्याहस्वस्त्ययनायुष्यमङ्गलसंयुक्तान्याभ्युदयिकानि विद्वेषणसंवननाभिचारद्विषद्व्यृद्धियुक्तानि च शालाग्नौ कुर्यात्। यथोक्तमृत्विजोऽन्यानि।

'तत्प्रसूतः' तदनुज्ञातः। 'संवननं' वशीकरणम्। 'द्विषद्व्यृद्धिः' शत्रूणामृद्ध्यभावः[1]।

द्रियेत' श्रद्दधीत। तच्छब्देन दैवोत्पातकचिन्तकवचनम्, तदायत्तम्। योगक्षेमम्, अलब्धलाभो 'योगः'। लब्धस्य रक्षणं 'क्षेमः'। 'प्रतिजानते' प्रतिज्ञां कुर्वन्ति। संयुक्तशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसम्बध्यते। 'आभ्युदयिकानि' अभ्युदयहेतुत्वात्। विगता ऋद्धिः 'व्यृद्धिः' द्विषतो व्यृद्धिः 'द्विषद्व्यृद्धिः, तया युक्तं येनाऽस्य परो विगतैश्वर्यो भवति। उपरि ऋत्विग्ग्रहणात् एतानि पुरोहितः कुर्यात् 'शालाग्नौ', च शब्दात् लौकिके च। पुत्रकामेष्ट्यादीनि अन्यानि यथोक्तं ऋत्विजः कुर्युः।

1 वी. मि., pp. 136–7 gives the following further explanation: 'पुरोदधीत' पुरोहितं कुर्यात्। 'तत्प्रसूत' इत्यत्र तच्छब्दानुकर्षणीयत्वेन ब्राह्मणो निर्दिश्यते—ब्रह्मप्रसूतमिति। 'ऋध्यते' समृद्धो भवति। 'विज्ञायते' परम्परया दृश्यते। 'तदधीन' दैवोत्पातचिन्तकैः ज्योतिर्विद्भिः यद्ग्रहवैकृतादौ कर्तव्यत्वेनोक्तं तस्यायत्तम्। 'योगक्षेमं' इत्यत्र समाहारद्वन्द्वेन नपुंसकत्वैकवद्भावश्च। 'शान्तिः' ग्रहशान्तिमहाशान्त्यादयः। 'पुण्याहं' दिनदोषनाशाय विवाहादौ क्रियमाणम्। 'स्वस्त्ययनं' यात्रादौ क्रियमाणम्। 'आयुष्यसंयुक्तम्' जन्मनक्षत्रादौ आयुर्वृद्ध्यर्थं क्रियमाणं दूर्वाहोमादि। 'मङ्गलं' गृहप्रवेशादौ क्रियमाणं वास्तुहोमादि। एतान्यभ्युदयहेतुत्वात् 'आभ्युदयिकानि'। 'विद्वेषणं' येन अस्य शत्रुः प्रकृतीनां द्वेष्यो भवति तत्।

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ब्रह्मपुराणे[1]

द्वौ लक्षहोमौ कुर्वीत तथा संवत्सरं प्रति ।
एकं च कोटिहोमं च यत्नात्सर्वाभयप्रदम् ॥
अथर्ववेदविधिना समन्त्री सपुरोहितः ।
नित्यान्याहार्यकाम्यानि तथा नैमित्तिकानि च ॥
ग्रहणे सूर्यशशिनोर्भूकम्पोत्पातदर्शने ।
तत्क्षणे च महाशान्तिः कर्तव्याऽनिष्टनाशिनी ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः

पुरोहितं च कुर्व्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदितम् ।
दण्डनीत्यां च कुशलमथर्वाङ्गिरसे तथा[2] ॥

महाभारते[3]

पुरोहितप्रधानो हि राजा हितमवाप्नुयात् ।
सदाऽऽचरति यो धर्मं नृपो ब्राह्मणदेशितम् ॥
तावता स कृतप्रज्ञश्चिरं यशसि तिष्ठति ।
तस्य धर्मस्य सिद्धस्य भागी राज्ञः पुरोहितः ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः[4]

श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियाहेतोर्वृणुयादृत्विजस्तथा ।

1 वी. मि., p. 138

2 I, 313 ; वी. मि., p. 137 omissions supplied by I. O. and A. S. B ; मिता., reads पुरोहितं प्रकुर्वीत, but अप., adopts the reading in the text.

3 वी. मि., p. 138 reads सत्कृतप्रज्ञः for स कृतप्रज्ञः

4 I, 314–315 ; वी. मि., p. 138 ; मिता., and अप., read वृणुयादेव चर्त्विजः

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यज्ञांश्चैव प्रकुर्वीत विधिवद्भूरिदक्षिणान् ॥
भोगांश्च दद्याद्विप्रेभ्यो वसूनि विविधानि च ।
अक्षयोऽयं निधी राज्ञां यद्विप्रेषूपपादितम् ॥

मनुः[1]

आवृत्तानां गुरुकुलाद्विप्राणां पूजको भवेत् ।
विप्राणामक्षयो ह्येष निधिर्ब्राह्मो विधीयते ॥
न तं स्तेना न चाऽमित्रा हरन्ति न च नश्यति ।
तस्माद्राज्ञा विधातव्यो ब्राह्मणेष्वक्षयो निधिः ॥
न स्कन्दते न व्यथते न विनश्यति कर्हि चित् ।
वरिष्ठमग्निहोत्राद्धि ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे हुतम् ॥

कात्यायनः[2]

अक्लेशेनाऽर्थिने यस्तु राजा सम्यङ्निवेदयेत् ।
तत्तारयत्यनन्तं स्याद्धर्मार्थं दानमीदृशम् ॥
न्यायेनाऽऽक्रम्य यल्लब्धं रिपुं निर्जित्य पार्थिवैः ।
तच्छुद्धं तत्प्रदेयं च नाऽन्यथोपहृतं क्वचित्[3] ॥

राजधर्मेषु विष्णुः[4]

परदत्तां च भुवं नाऽपहरेत् ब्राह्मणेभ्यः । [सर्वदायान् प्रयच्छेत्] ।

1 VII, 82–84
2 Kane, 22–23
3 Kane reads तान्नान्यथोपहृतं क्वचित्
4 3, 83–84 ; words in brackets are omitted by कल्पतरु

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राजधर्मेषु आपस्तम्बः[1]

भृत्यानामनुरोधेन क्षेत्रं वित्तं च ददद्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो यथार्हमनन्तांल्लोकान् जयति ।

कात्यायनः[2]

वेदध्वनिप्रभावेण देवाः स्वर्गनिवासिनः ।
तेऽपि तत्र प्रमोदन्ते तृप्तास्तु द्विजपूजनात् ॥
तस्माद्यत्नेन कर्तव्या द्विजपूजा सदा नृपैः ।
तेन भूयोऽपि शक्रत्वं नरेन्द्रत्वं पुनः पुनः ॥

राजेत्यनुवृत्तौ शङ्खलिखितौ[3]

दद्याद्दानमर्चयित्वा ब्राह्मणाय निमित्तपूर्वं शेषेभ्यः, कृपणातुरानाथव्यङ्गविधवाबालवृद्धानौषधावसथाशनाच्छादनैर्बिभृयात् ।

1 2, 26, 1; the printed text reads अभिजयति for जयति; वी. मि., p. 139 adds the comment : 'भृत्यानां' राजरक्षणापयुक्तानां अमात्यानुजीविप्रभृतीनाम् । 'अनुरोधेन' तद्भृत्यपीडनेन । 'यथार्हं' वृत्तशीलविद्याकुटुम्बादिकं विचार्य ।

2 Kane, 6–7 ; वी. मि., p. 139 , adds the comment : सत्कर्मणा शक्रत्वं प्राप्य पुण्यक्षये पुनः नरेन्द्रत्वं प्राप्नुयादिति शेषः । अत एवोक्तम्—

सुराध्यक्षः च्युतः स्वर्गात् नृपरूपेण तिष्ठति ।
कर्तव्यं तेन तन्नित्यं येन तत्वं समाप्नुयात् ॥

3 वी. मि., p. 138 adds to this citation the explanation : 'शेषेभ्यः' क्षत्रियादिभ्यः । 'निमित्तपूर्वं' सेवाद्युपाधिना ।

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वसिष्ठः[1]

राजनि च दद्यात्प्रेते प्रासङ्गिकम्। अनेन मातापितृवृत्तिर्व्याख्याता। राजमहिषीपितृव्यमातुलान् राजा बिभृयात्। तद्बधूश्चाऽन्याश्च राजपत्न्यो ग्रासाच्छादनार्थं लभेरन् अनिच्छन्त्यो वा व्रजेयुः। क्लीबोन्मत्तान् राजा बिभृयात् तद्गामित्वाद्रिक्थस्य।

'प्रासङ्गिकं' श्राद्धप्रसङ्गेन ब्राह्मणपूजनम्।

मनुः[2]

श्रोत्रियं व्याधितार्तौ च बालवृद्धावकिञ्चनम्।

1 XIX, 29 ff. Fuehrer's ed. reads प्रव्रजेरन् for व्रजेयुः वी. मि., p. 139 adds अस्याऽर्थः—'राजनि प्रेते' मृते यः पुत्रातिरिक्तोऽपि राजा भवति, स 'प्रासङ्गिकं' मरणप्रसङ्गेनाऽऽवश्यकं तच्छ्राद्धादि कुर्यादित्यर्थः। यस्तु पितृमरणोत्तरं राजा भवति तं प्रति श्राद्धादिविधानस्याऽऽनर्थक्यप्रसङ्गात् सामान्यत एव प्राप्तेः। 'अनेन' तच्छ्राद्धादिविधानेन। 'मातापितृवृत्तिः' मृतराज्ञो मातापित्रोः भरणादिरूपा। 'व्यख्याता' अवश्यं कर्तव्या। 'अन्याश्च राजपत्न्यः' तदवरोधवासिन्योऽविवाहिता अपि, एता ग्रासाच्छादनं लभेरन्। अनेन पूर्वोक्तानां भरणविधानं पूर्वराजकृततद्वृत्यनुच्छेदपरम्। तत्राऽपि मातापित्रोः यावती पूर्वराजकृता वृत्तिः सा सर्वाऽपि दातव्या। राजमहिषीपितृव्यमातुलानां तु भरणं मानपुरस्सरम्। अवश्यं तद्भरणीयजनपोषणं यथा भवति तथा विधेयम्। तदवरोधवासिनीनां अन्यासां विवाहितानां अविवाहितानां च ग्रासाच्छादनमात्रं दद्यात्, पृथक् पृथङ्निर्दिशेत्। अत एव सर्वशेषे 'तद्गामित्वात् रिक्थस्य' इति हेतूपन्यासः। 'रिक्थस्य' तत्तद्दायस्य। 'तद्गामित्वात्' नूतनराजगामित्वात्। 'क्लीबोन्मत्तान्' पूर्वराजान्तःपुरात् अवधिकृतान्, पूर्वराजेनाऽवश्यभृतान्।

2 VII, 395; वी. मि., p. 140

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महाकुलीनमार्यं च राजा सम्पूजयेत्सदा ॥

गौतमः[1]

विभृयाद्ब्राह्मणवच्छ्रोत्रियान् । निरुत्साहांश्चाऽब्राह्मणान् । अकरांश्चोपकुर्वाणांश्च ।

आपस्तम्बः[2]

आवसथे श्रोत्रिया[वराध्या]नतिथीन् वासयेत् ।

1 10, 9-11 ; मस्करिभाष्य., pp. 159-160 : 'ब्राह्मणान्' ब्रह्मगुणसम्पन्नान् , 'श्रोत्रियान्' श्रुतिमतः । भरणमन्नादिदानेन । 'निरुत्साहत्वं' उपजीवनार्थकर्मानुष्ठानासमर्थत्वम् । 'अब्राह्मणाः' क्षत्रियादयः । 'च' शब्दात् दीनानाथांश्च । वी. मि., p. 140 explains thus : 'अकरान्' येभ्यः करो न गृह्यते किन्तु मासि मासि एकैकदिनं कर्म कार्यते तादृशान् शिल्प्यादीन् । 'उपकुर्वाणांश्च' अधीयाना ब्रह्मचारिण उपकुर्वाणाः । तांश्च विभृयादन्नादिदानेन । यद्यर्थिनः स्वयं जीवनवतश्च करादिव्यावर्तनेन । 'उपकुर्वाणा' लोकोपकारिणः वैद्यादय इति हरदत्तः ।

2 2, 25, 8-10 ; Words in brackets [ ] not in the Manuscripts , but found in the printed sūtra. हरदत्त explains thus : आवसथाख्ये स्थाने अतिथीन् वासयेत् । ते विशेष्यन्ते-'श्रोत्रियावराध्यान्' इति । अवरपर्यायो 'अवराध्यं' शब्दः । यदि सर्वान् वासयितुं न शक्नोति श्रोत्रियानपि तावद्वासयेदिति । 'तेषां' अतिथीनां 'यथागुणं' विद्यावृत्तानुगुणं आवसथादि 'विदेयं' विशेषेण देयम् । 'आवसथा' अपवरकादयः । 'शय्या' खट्वादयः । 'अन्न'मोदनादि । 'पानं' तक्रसूपादि । 'गुरवः' पित्रादयः । 'अमात्याः' मन्त्रिणः । तान् 'नाऽतिजीवेत्' भक्ष्यभोज्याच्छादनादिषु तान्नाऽतिशयीत ।

वी. मि., p. 140, has the comment : 'देयं' राज्ञेति शेषः ।

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तेषां यथागुणमावसथाः शय्याऽन्नपानं च [वि] देयं गुरून-मात्यांश्च नाऽतिजीवेत् ।

शङ्खलिखितौ

राजन्यवैश्यावप्यजीवन्तौ राजानमुपतिष्ठेयाताम् । तावुभौ शक्तितः संविभक्तावुपकुर्यातां स्वधर्मानुष्ठानेन शिल्पिनः कारवश्च शूद्राः[1] ।

मनुः[2]

यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये ब्राह्मणः सीदति क्षुधा ।
तस्याऽपि तत्क्षुधा राष्ट्रमचिरेणैव सीदति ॥
श्रुतवृत्ते विदित्वाऽस्य वृत्तिधर्मं प्रकल्पयेत् ।
संरक्षेत्सर्वतश्चैनं पिता पुत्रमिवौरसम् ॥
संरक्ष्यमाणो राज्ञाऽयं कुरुते धर्ममन्वहम् ।
तेनाऽऽयुर्वर्धते राज्ञो द्रविणं राष्ट्रमेव च ॥

'नातिजीवेत् अतिक्रम्य न जीवेत् । गुरूणाममात्यानां च जीविकां कृत्वैव स्वजीविकां कुर्यादित्यर्थः ।

1 वी. मि., p. 141

2 VII, 134–136 and वी. मि., p. 141 ; but वी. मि., p. 127 cites also the following as from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर ।

न च क्षुधाऽवसीदेत् श्रोत्रियो विषये वसन् ।
यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये श्रोत्रियः सीदति क्षुधा ॥
तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं दुर्भिक्षव्याधितस्करैः ।
श्रुतिवृत्ते तु विज्ञाय वृत्तिं यस्य प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
रक्षेत सर्वतस्त्वेतान् पिता पुत्रमिवौरसम् ।
संरक्ष्यमाणो राज्ञा यः कुरुते धर्ममन्वहम् ।
तेनाऽऽयुर्वर्द्धते राज्ञो द्रविणं राष्ट्रमेव च ॥

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यमः[1]

पूर्वरात्रान्तरात्रेषु द्विजा यस्य ह्यधीयते ।
स राजा सह राष्ट्रेण वर्द्धते ब्रह्मतेजसा ॥

राजा यत्कुरुते पापं प्रमादात्सहते न वा ।
वसन्तो ब्राह्मणा राष्ट्रे जप्येन शमयन्ति तत् ॥

ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेन्नित्यं प्रातरुत्थाय भूपतिः[2] ।
ब्राह्मणानां प्रसादेन वसन्ति दिवि देवताः ॥

यदनुव्याहरन्त्येते[3] शुभं वा यदि वाऽशुभम् ।
तत्तथा नाऽन्यथा कुर्याद्ब्राह्मणो ह्यत्र कारणम् ॥

तथा

अभेद्यमच्छेद्यमनादिमक्षयं
निधिं पुराणं परिपालयन्ति ये ।
महीपतिस्तानभिपूज्य वै द्विजान्
भवेदजेयो दिवि देवराडिव[4] ॥

शक्यं हि कवचं भेत्तुं नाराचेन शरेण वा ।
अपि वज्रसहस्रेण ब्राह्मणाशीः सुदुर्भिदा ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 143
2 A. S. B. and I. O., भूमिपः
3 वी. मि., यदरुच्या
4 वी. मि., p. 142 adds the comment : 'पुराणं निधिं' वेदरूपम्

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मनुः[1]

नाऽब्रह्म क्षत्रमृध्नोति नाऽक्षत्रं ब्रह्म वर्धते ।
ब्रह्मक्षत्रेण संयुक्तमिह चाऽमुत्र वर्द्धते ॥

यमः[2]

राजा वृक्षो ब्राह्मणस्तस्य मूलं
पौराः पर्णं मन्त्रिणस्तस्य शाखाः ।
तस्माद्राज्ञा ब्राह्मणा रक्षणीया
मूले गुप्ते नाऽस्ति वृक्षस्य नाशः ॥

आसन्नो हि दहत्यग्निर्दूराद्दहति ब्राह्मणः ।
प्ररोहत्यग्निना दग्धं ब्रह्मदग्धं न रोहति ॥
ब्राह्मणानां च शापेन सर्वभक्षो हुताशनः ।
समुद्रश्चाऽप्यपेयश्च विफलस्तु पुरन्दरः ॥
चन्द्रमा राजयक्ष्मा च पृथिव्यामूषराणि च ।
वनस्पतीनां निर्यासो दानवानां पराजयः ॥
अनन्तान्येव तेजांसि ब्राह्मणानां महात्मनाम् ।
तस्माद्विप्रेषु नृपतिः प्रणमेन्नियमेन च ॥

'विफलो' वृषणरहितः[3] ।

1 IX, 322 ; Printed texts read : ब्रह्मक्षत्रं च सम्पृक्तमिह चामुत्र वर्धते

2 वी. मि., p. 143

3 Comment reproduced by वी. मि., p. 143

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मनुः[1]

परामप्यापदं प्राप्तो ब्राह्मणं न प्रकोपयेत् ।
ते ह्येनं कुपिता हन्युः सद्यः सबलवाहनम् ॥
यैः कृतः सर्वभक्षोऽग्निरपेयश्च महोदधिः ।
क्षयी चाप्यायितः सोमः को न नश्येत्प्रकोप्य तान् ॥
लोकानलोकान्[2] कुर्युस्ते लोकपालांश्च कोपिताः ।
देवान् कुर्युरदेवांश्च कः क्षिण्वंस्तान् समृध्नुयात् ॥
यानुपाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति देवा लोकाश्च सर्वदा ।
ब्रह्मैव च धनं[3] येषां को हिंस्यात्तान् जिजीविषुः ॥
प्रणीतश्चाऽप्रणीतश्च यथाऽग्निर्दैवतं महत् ।
अविद्वांश्च विद्वांश्चैव ब्राह्मणो दैवतं महत् ॥
श्मशानेष्वपि तेजस्वी पावको नैव दुष्यति ।
हूयमानश्च यज्ञेषु भूय एवाऽभिपूज्यते[4] ॥
एवं यद्यप्यनिष्टेषु वर्त्तन्ते सर्वकर्मसु ।
सर्वथा ब्राह्मणाः पूज्या दैवतं परमं हि तत् ॥
क्षत्रस्याऽपि प्रवृद्धस्य ब्राह्मणान् प्रति सर्वतः ।

1 IX, 313–321 ; वी. मि., pp. 151–2. Kullūka reads: ब्राह्मणान्न प्रकोपयेत् । वी. मि., p. 151 comments thus : 'परामपि' कोशक्षयेण बलवद्राजविरोधेन चोत्कृष्टाम्, आपदं प्राप्तो राजा ब्राह्मणं न कोपयेत् । तदीयधनादानेन तदवगणनया वा तन्मन्युं नोत्पादयेत् ।

2 Kullūka reads : लोकानन्यान् सृजेयुः

3 *Ibid.*, ब्रह्म चैव धनं

4 *Ibid.*, अभिवर्धते

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ब्रह्मैव सन्नियन्तृ स्यात् क्षत्रं हि ब्रह्मसम्भवम् ॥
अद्भ्योऽग्निर्ब्रह्मतः क्षत्रमश्मनो लोहमुत्थितम् ।
तेषां सर्वत्रगं तेजः स्वासु योनिषु शाम्यति[1] ॥

महाभारते

अष्टौ पूर्वनिमित्तानि नरस्य विरामिष्यतः ।
ब्राह्मणान् प्रथमं द्वेष्टि ब्राह्मणांश्च विरुध्यते ॥
ब्राह्मणस्वानि चाऽऽदत्ते ब्राह्मणांश्च जिघांसति ।
रमते निन्दया चैषां प्रशंसां नाऽभिनन्दति ॥
नैतान् स्मरति कृत्येषु याचितश्चाऽभ्यसूयति ।
एतान् दोषान्नरः प्राज्ञो बुध्या बुध्वा विवर्जयेत् ॥

तथा

भीष्म उवाच

एतद्राज्ञः कृत्यतममभिषिक्तस्य भारत ।
ब्राह्मणानामनुज्ञानमत्यन्तं[2] सुखमिच्छतः ॥
कर्तव्यं पार्थिवेनेह तद्विद्धि भरतर्षभ ।
श्रोत्रियान् स्नातकान् वृद्धान् नित्यमेवाऽभिपूजयेत् ॥
पौरजानपदांश्चाऽपि ब्राह्मणांश्च बहुश्रुतान् ।

1 वी. मि., p. 152 comments thus: सर्वोऽयं अर्थवादः । अपराधिनोऽपि ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डनिवृत्यर्थं स्तुतिरियम् । Kullūka modifies this position: दण्डकरणे चेयं ब्राह्मणस्तुतिः ब्राह्मणानां अपराधिनामपि लघुदण्डप्रयोगनियमार्था ।

2 I. O. and A. S. B; Udaipur Ms. has अन्यं ते

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सान्त्वेन भोगदानेन नमस्कारैस्तथेज्यया ॥
एतत्कृत्यतमं राज्ञां नित्यमेवाऽभिलक्षयेत् ।
यथाऽऽत्मानं यथा पुत्रांस्तथैतान् परिपालयेत् ॥
ये चाऽप्येषां पूज्यतमास्तान्नृपः प्रतिपूजयेत् ।
तेषु शान्तेषु तद्राष्ट्रं सर्वमेव विराजते ॥

राजेत्यनुवृत्तौ ब्रह्मपुराणे

नित्यं सन्निहितान् देवान् मुनीन्नागांश्च पूजयेत् ।
पिशाचेभ्यो बलिं दद्यात्सन्ध्याकाले च नित्यशः ॥

भविष्यपुराणे

राज्ञां पूज्यः सदा प्रोक्तः कार्तिकेयो महीपते ।
कार्तिकेयादृते राज्ञां नाऽन्यं पूज्यं प्रचक्षते ॥
सङ्ग्रामे गच्छमानो यः पूजयेत्कृत्तिकासुतम् ।
स शत्रून् जयते वीरो यथेन्द्रो दानवान् रणे ॥
तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन पूजयेच्छङ्करात्मजम् ।
पूज्यमानस्तु तं भक्त्या चम्पकैर्विविधैर्नृप ॥
मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यः स वै गच्छेच्छिवालयम् ॥

देवीपुराणे

नामभेदेन सा भिन्ना अभिन्ना परमार्थतः ।
शिवा नारायणी गौरी चर्चिका विमला उमा ॥
सा वन्द्या पूजनीया च सततं तत्प्रभावितैः ।
विजयार्थं नृपैः खड्गे छुरिका पादुके पटे ॥

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चामुण्डां चित्ररूपां च लिखतां चाऽथ पुस्तके ।
ध्वजे वा कारयेच्छत्रं स नृपो विजयेद्रिपून्[1] ॥

इति राजकृत्यम् ॥

1 I. O. omits these two ślokas.

२३ कृ० रा०

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अथ देवयात्राविधिः

तत्र ब्रह्मपुराणे[1]

वैशाखादिषु मासेषु षट्सु देवगृहेषु च ।
यात्रोत्सवः सदा कार्यः प्रतिसंवत्सरेष्वपि ॥
कार्या च ब्रह्मणे यात्रा प्रतिपद्यपि सर्वदा ।
द्वितीयायां च देवेभ्यो विद्यारम्भे महोत्सवे ॥
भागीरथ्यै तृतीयायां कर्तव्या च सुशोभना ।
विनायकाय नागेभ्यश्चतुर्थ्यामथ कारयेत् ॥

'चतुर्थ्यामथे'त्यथशब्देन पञ्चम्युपादीयते ।

स्कन्दाय षष्ठ्यां सप्तम्यां सूर्येभ्यश्च यथाक्रमम् ।
पुरन्दराय चाऽष्टम्यां रुद्राय सगणाय च ॥
दुर्गाद्याभ्यश्च मातृभ्यो नवम्यामथ सर्वदा ।
भूम्यै दशम्यां कर्त्तव्या सर्वोपकरणान्विता ॥
एकादश्यां समासेन विधात्रे विश्वकर्मणे ।
द्वादश्यां विष्णवे कार्या सायुधाय महात्मने ॥
त्रयोदश्यां तु कामाय चतुर्दश्यां कपर्दिने ।
पौर्णमास्यां तु देवेभ्यस्तथा चन्द्रमसे तथा ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 416

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अमावास्यायां पर्वान्ते पितृभ्यश्चाऽत्र कुत्रचित् ।
चतुर्दश्यां चतुर्थ्यां वा पितृराजे[1] यमे तथा ॥
द्वादश्यां पौर्णमास्यां वा नागेभ्यः पञ्चमेऽहनि ।
नारायणाय सर्वासु कार्या तिथिषु सर्वदा ॥
यात्रां च कर्त्तुकामेन प्रारम्भे तु दिने दिने ।
विनायकाय पूजा च कर्तव्या मोदकोत्करैः ॥
द्वितीयेऽहनि कर्तव्या ग्रहशान्तिर्यथाक्रमम् ।
गन्धर्वेभ्यस्तथा पूजा चतुर्थेऽहनि शास्त्रवित् ॥
पञ्चमे स्थाननागाय पयसा पायसेन च ।
षष्ठे देयं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो भोजनं च सदक्षिणम् ॥
स्नपनं सप्तमे कार्यं देशं कृत्वा सुरक्षितम् ।
सुधावदातं कर्तव्यं चित्रितं देवतागृहम् ॥
रङ्गस्थानं तु देवेभ्यो विहितं कारयेत्तथा ।
स्रग्वस्त्रमाल्यहेमाद्यैः प्रधानं देवमर्चयेत् ॥
ततोऽर्चास्नपनं कार्यं कल्पशाखाक्रमेण च ।
पुण्याहगीतनृत्याद्यैर्होमैर्बल्युपहारकैः ॥
ततोऽर्चास्नपनस्यान्ते [2]पौरैर्नृत्यपुरस्सरम् ।
आनेतव्यं च महता विभवेनोदकं शुभम् ॥
नित्यं सन्निहितात्तीर्थाद्यथा प्राप्तैर्घटैर्नवैः ।
देशकालानुसारेण गजाश्ववृषमानवैः ॥

1 All Mss. have पितृराज्ञे, which is corrected by वी. मि., p. 417 as पितृराजे

2 वी. मि., p. 417 reads वृद्धपुरस्सरैः

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तेनोदकेन प्रतिमा स्नाप्या भूमौ च शास्त्रवत् ।
नदभूमिश्च[1] कर्तव्या सर्वदोषविवर्जिता ॥

प्राप्ते तु यात्रादिवसे कूटागारं तु कारयेत् ।
पुष्पैर्माल्यैस्तथा वस्त्रैः पताकाभिश्च शोभितम् ॥

घण्टासहस्रनिनदं सर्वशोभासमन्वितम् ।
आरोप्या प्रतिमा तत्र सुसूक्ष्मा च सुशोभना ॥

कूटागारं च वोढव्यं गजैरश्वैर्नरैर्वृषैः ।
देशकालानुसारेण वस्त्रमाल्याद्यलङ्कृतैः ॥

सबलेनाऽनुगन्तव्यो राजा देवस्य पृष्ठतः ।
सुदूरे चाऽनुगन्तव्यस्तत्प्रयुक्तैश्च मन्त्रिभिः ॥

यस्य यस्य समीपे तु स देवो याति पूजितः ।
तेनाऽऽतिथ्यं च कर्तव्यं तस्मै धूपादिभिः सदा ॥

क्ष्वेडितोत्कृष्टशब्दैश्च जयवाद्यस्वनेन च ।
यथागमं च कर्तव्यं नगरे च प्रदक्षिणम् ॥

ततो देवगृहं तां तु सम्पूज्य प्रतिमां नयेत् ।
महान्तमुत्सवं कुर्वन् गीतनृत्यसमाकुलम् ॥

तस्यां राज्ञा ततो देया दीपाः शतसहस्रशः ।
रङ्गभूमौ दिदृक्षूणां प्रकाशार्थं महात्मनः ॥

तैस्तैः सुभाषितैः श्लोकैर्हर्षयित्वा जनांस्तथा ।
सर्वेषामनुकम्पार्थं धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तयेत् ॥

रङ्गोपजीविनां पश्येत् तृतीयेऽहनि कौशलम् ।
यथाशक्ति धनं तेभ्यो दद्याद्दम्भं च वर्जयेत् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 417 , नटभूमिश्च

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प्रेक्षाकाले प्रधानास्ते पूजितव्याः क्रमेण तु ।
सम्मानपूर्वं विधिवत्ताम्बूलकुसुमादिभिः ॥
यात्रावसाने भूतानि पूजनीयानि सर्वदा ।
पूजोपचारैर्बलिभिस्ततो नक्तश्चरानपि ॥
अदृष्टविग्रहानेवं दिदृक्षूणां महोत्सवम् ।
सन्ध्यायां परया भक्त्या त्यक्त्वा सन्देहमात्मनः ॥
सर्वमस्तीति विज्ञाय चेतसा निर्मलेन च ।
एकान्तदेवताः पूज्या वैशाखे मासि पूर्ववत् ॥
गृहे गृहस्थैः सम्पूज्या स्त्रियश्च गृहदेवताः ।
आचारान् पालयेदेतान् यस्तु राजा समाहितः ॥
स पुत्रपौत्रसंयुक्तो दीर्घायुर्धनवान् भवेत् ।
सर्वत्र जयमाप्नोति याति स्वर्गं च शाश्वतम् ॥
यदेतद्वैष्णवं वाक्यं देशेऽस्मिल्लंघयते जनैः ।
तदा सस्यानि नश्यन्ति घोरैरुदकविप्लवैः ॥
अतिवृष्टिरनावृष्टिर्दुर्भिक्षं च तथा मृतिः ।
दम्भाभिमानलोभांस्तु तस्मात्त्यक्त्वा प्रयत्नतः ॥
यदुक्तं विष्णुना वाक्यं तत्कुर्यात्कृतनिश्चयः ॥

इति देवयात्राविधिः ॥

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अथ कौमुदीमहोत्सवः

तत्र स्कन्दपुराणे[1]

प्रातःप्रभृति राजा च आज्ञापयति कौमुदीम् ।
देवरात्रिं च देवस्य रुद्रस्याऽसुरनाशिनीम् ॥
सुसम्मृष्टोपलिप्ताभी रथ्याभिः क्रियतां पुरम् ।
वासोभिः संहतैः सर्वे भवन्तु पुरवासिनः ॥
स्रग्विणश्च शिरःस्नाताः सदाम्पत्या यथाक्रमम् ।
गायन्तु गायनाश्चैव नृत्यन्तु नटनर्त्तकाः ॥
उच्छ्रियन्तां पताकाश्च गृहे वीथ्यापणेषु च ।
गृहाणि चोपलिप्तानि नित्यमेव भवन्तु वः ॥
पुष्पप्रकरजुष्टानि भूपैर्नानाविधैरपि ।
स्रग्दामवन्ति सर्वाणि वनमालाकुलानि च ॥
दीपा रात्रौ च सर्वत्र राजमार्गे गृहेषु च ।
अनन्तराः क्रियन्तां वै प्रचुरस्नेहवर्त्तयः ॥
[तरुणाः सह योषिद्भिः समन्तात्पर्यटन्तु च[2] ।
रममाणा हसन्तश्च गायन्तो नृत्यसेविनः ॥
भाण्डवाद्यानि वाद्यन्तां नृत्यन्तां दिव्ययोषितः ।

1 वी. मि., p. 419
2 These two ślokas are omitted by Udaipur Ms. only.

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महादेवस्य पूजां च गन्धपुष्पादिकां शुभाम् ॥]
उपहारांश्च विविधान् शयनानि महान्ति च ।
दीपांश्च विविधाकारान् पानानि कृशरांस्तथा ॥
फलानि च विचित्राणि मांसपक्कं तथाऽऽमकम् ।
सुवर्णमणिचित्राणि ईश्वराय प्रयच्छत ॥
वध्यन्तां पशवश्चाऽत्र भोज्यन्तां च द्विजोत्तमाः ।
यो न कुर्यादिदं सर्वं पुरवासी नरः क्वचित् ॥
पातयेत्तस्य शारीरं दण्डं राजा महायशाः ।
राजाऽपि संयतः शान्तः शुचिः प्रयतमानसः ॥
दिवसे दिवसे रुद्रं स्नापयीत प्रयत्नवान् ।
पञ्चगव्येन शुद्धेन तैलेन च सुगन्धिना ॥
क्षीरेण सर्पिषा दध्ना रसैश्च बहुभिः शुभैः ।
पुष्पैः फलैश्च बीजैश्च रत्नैश्चाऽद्भिस्समन्वितैः ॥
भस्मना गन्धयुक्तेन उदकेन सुगन्धिना ।
एकैकशः स्वयं राजा घटानां दशभिः शतैः ॥
दिवसे दिवसे व्यास त्र्यम्बकं सोऽभिषेचयेत् ।
गन्धैः पुष्पैश्च धूपैश्च जाप्यैर्बलिभिरेव च ॥
पूजयित्वा ततो राजा विप्रानन्यांश्च भोजयेत् ।
स कृत्वा पशुभिर्मेध्यैर्वस्त्रैर्मणिभिरेव च ॥
बलिवस्त्रान्नदानैश्च स्तूयमानो गृहान् व्रजेत् ॥

इति कौमुदीमहोत्सवः ॥

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अथेन्द्रध्वजोच्छ्रायविधिः

तत्र देवीपुराणे[1]

शुभे ऋक्षे च करणे मुहूर्त्ते शुभमङ्गले ।
दैवज्ञः सूत्रधारश्च वनं गच्छेत्सहायवान् ॥

देवीप्रतिष्ठाविधिना यात्रायां यः प्रचोदितः ।
गत्वाऽन्विष्य शुभं वृक्षं प्रियङ्गुधवमर्जुनम् ॥

उदुम्बं [2]गजकर्णं च पञ्चैतान् शोभनान् हरेत् ।
ध्वजार्थे वर्ज्जयेद्वत्स देवतोद्यानजान् द्रुमान् ॥

कन्यामध्योत्तमा[3] यष्टीः करमानेन कल्पयेत् ।
एकादशकरा वत्स नवपञ्चकराऽपरा ॥

अनिबद्धां कृमिचितां तथा पक्षिनिकेतनाम् ।
वल्मीकपित्र्यवनजां[4] सशुष्कां च सकोटराम् ॥

कुब्जां च घटसंसिक्तां तथा स्त्रीनामगर्हिताम् ।
विद्युद्वज्रहताञ्चैव दग्धां च परिवर्ज्जयेत् ॥

अलाभे चम्पकं[5] चाऽऽम्रं शालशाकमयं तथा ।

1 वी. मि., p. 421

2 वी. मि., p. 42 reads अजकर्क ; वी. मि., p. 411 : 'उदुम्बं' उदुम्बरम्

3 'कन्या' कनीयसी इति वी. मि.

4 'पित्र्यवनजां श्मशानोत्पन्नाम् इति वी. मि.

5 A. S. B., I. O. and वी. मि., p. 421, read चन्दनं

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कर्तव्यं शक्रचिह्नार्थे न चाऽन्यदूवृक्षजं क्वचित् ॥
शुभभूमिभवं ग्राह्यं शुभतोयं शुभावहम् ।
ततः सम्पूजयेदूवृक्षं प्राङ्मुखोदङ्मुखोऽपि वा ॥
"नमो वृक्षपते वृक्ष त्वामर्चयति पार्थिवः ।
ध्वजार्थं तत्वतो नाऽत्र अन्यथा उपगम्यताम्" ॥
रात्रौ देयो बलिः श्वभ्रे दिक्षु वृक्षे तथैव च ।
वासं वने महावृक्ष कृत्वा ह्यन्यत्र गम्यताम्[1] ॥
ध्वजार्थे देवराजस्य रक्षन्ति तव चाऽत्र च ।
पूजयित्वा ततो वृक्षं बलिं सौमं तु दापयेत् ॥
प्रभाते छेदयेदूवृक्षं शुभस्वप्नादिदर्शनैः ।
उदङ्मुखः प्राङ्मुखो वा मध्वक्तेनाऽथ पर्शुना ॥
पूर्वोत्तरं पतन् शस्तो निःशब्दो निर्व्रणः शुभः ।
अलग्नः पादपेऽन्यस्मिन् अन्यथा तु परित्यजेत् ॥
अष्टाङ्गुलं त्यजेन्मूलमग्रं तत्र जले क्षिपेत् ।
तथा तं चाऽऽनयेद्वत्स शकटेन वृषैरथ ॥
युवभिर्बलसम्पन्नैः प्रयत्नात्पुरतः पुरम् ।
नीयमाना यदा यष्टिः समा वा चतुरस्रिका ॥
वृत्ता वा भङ्गमादत्ते राजपुत्रपुरोहितौ ।
आराभङ्गे बलं भिन्द्यान्नेम्या भङ्गे क्षयस्तथा ॥
रथस्य त्वक्षभङ्गे तु शान्तिः तत्र तु कारयेत् ।
"इन्द्रं यच्छे"ति मन्त्रेण जातवेदो मयेन वा ॥

1 Omitted in Udaipur Ms. and present in I. O., A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 421

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तथा नीत्वा शुभे लग्ने पुरे तामुपवेशयेत् ।
द्वारे शोभां पुरे रथ्या गृहेष्वपि च कारयेत् ॥
पटुभिः पटहानादैः वेश्यासङ्घस्य मङ्गलैः ।
द्विजानां वेदशब्दैश्च तां नयेद्यत्र चोच्छ्रयेत् ॥
[तत्रस्थां चित्रकर्मारनिर्मितैस्तां तु वेष्टयेत्[1] ।
वस्त्रैः तदैव कृत्तौतैः[2] शुभैः सूक्ष्मैर्यथाक्रमम् ॥
नन्दोपनन्दसंज्ञाश्च कुमार्यः प्रथमांशके ।]
देव्यो जयाविजयाख्याः षोडशांशैः व्यवस्थिताः ॥
[अम्बिकां शत्रुजयित्रीं[3]] नत्वाऽथ ध्वजदैवतम् ।
ध्वजस्य परिमाणे ताः सम्पाद्येव विनिर्दिशेत् ॥
षोडशांशविहीनानि कुर्याच्छेषाणि बुद्धिमान् ।
वाससां[4] चित्रवर्णानां स्वयम्भूः प्रथमामदात् ॥
सुभक्तां चतुरस्त्रां च विश्वकर्मा द्वितीयकम् ।
अष्टास्त्रिं च स्वयं शक्रो नीलरक्तामदात्पुरा ॥
कृष्णं यमेन दत्तं च वरुणेन महांशुकम् ।

1 I. O. omits three lines here.

2 'वासः सद्यःकृत्तोतम्' (आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र., 10, 10). Haradatta explains it thus : "एकस्मिन्नेव अहनि तन्तुक्रिया वयनक्रिया च यस्य तत् सद्यःकृत्तोतम्" ।

3 Mss. have अविकोशातुजनितैः, which is meaningless ; and the next line is also corrupt. 'शत्रुजरित्रीं' इति वी. मि., p. 423

4 So वी. मि., p. 423 ; Mss. read रसानां, which does not fit in.

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मञ्जिष्ठं जलजाकारं वायुर्देवाय सूकरम्[1] ॥
नीलवर्णं च तत्प्रादाच्छन्दोवाह्निविचित्रितम्[2] ।
वृत्तन्तु दहनः प्रादात्स्ववर्णं तच्च अष्टमम् ॥
वैडूर्यसदृशं चेन्द्रो ग्रैवेयं पुनरप्यदात् ।
चक्राङ्काकृतिवत् सूर्यो विश्वेदेवास्तु पद्मकम् ॥
नीलं नीलोत्पलाभासमृषयोऽपि च तं ददुः ।
शुक्रेण गुरुणा न्यस्तं विशालं[3] तच्च मूर्द्धनि ॥
गृहैरपि विचित्राणि तानि दत्तानि मातृभिः ।
यद्यद्येनैव दत्तं तु केतोस्तत्तस्य भूषणम् ॥
तद्दैवं तद्विजानीयात् यन्त्रादिभिरथोच्छ्रयेत् ।
कर्षन्ती प्रवरां भूमिं यष्टी [4]राष्ट्रं निहन्ति च ॥
बालानां तलशब्देन देशघातं विनिर्दिशेत् ।
नृपघातकरी कीर्णा[5] सर्वशान्ता शुभावहा ॥
शम्भुसूर्ययमेन्द्रेन्द्रधनदानां च वारुणैः ।
वह्नेर्नागस्य मन्त्रैश्च होतव्या दधि चाऽक्षताः ॥
शुक्रं स्कन्दं गुरुं रुद्रमप्सरोभिः प्रपाठयेत् ।
हुत्वा च विधिवद्वह्निज्वालां लक्षेच बुद्धिमान् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 423, षष्ठकम् for सूकरम् and देवोऽपि for देवाय

2 I. O. omits eight ślokas from this. वी. मि., p. 423, स्कन्दो बहुविचित्रितम्

3 Line corrupt : न्यष्टविलासं for न्यस्तं विशालं ; corrected from वी. मि., p. 423

4 Mss. have रात्री for राष्ट्रम् in वी. मि.

5 वी. मि., p. 433 reads शर्णि for कीर्णा

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सुतेजस्सुमनोदीप्ता महती रविसप्रभा ।
रक्ताऽशोकसमाकारा रथभेरीस्वना शुभा ॥

शङ्खदुन्दुभिमेघानां नादाः शस्तास्तु पावके ।
कदलीष्विक्षुदण्डेषु पताकाश्च समुच्छ्रयेत् ॥

अन्याश्च विविधाः शोभाः शक्रकेतौ समुच्छ्रयेत् ।
प्रौष्ठपद्यामथाऽष्टम्यां शुक्लायां शोभने च ते[1] ॥

आश्विने चाऽथ शुक्लायां श्रवणे वाऽथ उच्छ्रयेत् ।
घोषैश्च नटवृन्दैश्च पटभेरीनिनादितम् ॥

वितानध्वजशोभाढ्यपताकाभिः समुज्ज्वलम् ।
विष्णवीशशक्रमन्त्रेण सिंहरक्षःकृतेन च[2] ॥

दृढमातृकरन्ध्रस्थं शुभतोरणमार्गणम् ।
अवलम्बितमुत्तानमभग्नपिटकं समम् ॥

न द्रुतं च समुत्थाप्यः केतुर्वासवजो विभो ।
उच्छ्रितं रक्षयेत्प्राज्ञः काकोलूककपोतयोः ॥

न तत्र [3]लयनं दद्यादन्येषामपि पक्षिणाम् ।
मन्त्रेण[4] चोच्छ्रयं कुर्यादिन्द्रकेतोर्यथाविधि ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 424 , दिने for च ते

2 'विष्णवीशशक्रमन्त्रेण' इत्यनेन "इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे" (ऋ. सं., I, 2, 7), "तमीशानं जगतस्तस्थुषस्पतिम्" (ऋ. सं, I, 6, 15) "इन्द्रं वा विश्वतस्परि" (I, 1, 14) इति मन्त्रत्रयं निर्दिष्टम् ।

3 वी. मि., p. 424 reads लङ्घनं for लयनम् । लयनमावासस्थानम् । लङ्घनमतिक्रम्य गमनम् ।

4 *Ibid.*, यन्त्रेण for मन्त्रेण

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यथा सुसंस्कृतं पूज्य सुखयन्त्रं सुयन्त्रितम् ।
रात्रौ जागरणं कुर्यादिन्द्रमन्त्रानुकीर्तनैः[1] ॥
पुरोहितः सदैवज्ञः शुभशान्तिरतः सदा ।
केतुपातो नृपं हन्यात्पताका महिषीवधम् ॥
पीटको युवराजस्य सदैवमनुकल्पयेत् ।
राष्ट्रं तोरणपातेन ध्वज अन्नक्षयो भवेत् ॥
पतिते शक्रदण्डे च नृपमन्यं समादिशेत् ।
कृमिजालसमुत्थाने शलभात्तस्कराद्भयम् ॥
सुसमे संस्थिते शान्तिर्नृपस्य नगरस्य च ।
तिष्ठत्येवोत्थितो यावत्तावद्युगसमाः समाः ॥
निरता यजने केतो रञ्जीरन्निन्द्रकन्यकाः ।
पतिते तु तथा कार्या पूजोत्थाने तु यादृशी ॥
रात्रौ शुभं कृत्यतमं नाऽदृष्टं काकपोतकैः ।
नृपतिः सह राष्ट्रीयैर्यश्चैवं कारयेत्क्रतुम् ॥
नगरे वा पुरे खेटे यद्येवं कुरुते नृपः ।
पौरन्दरं नगरद्वारे वृषसिंहसमुच्छ्रितम् ॥
केतुं समस्तघोराणां नाशनं जयदं मतम् ।
एवं पूर्वं हरिः केतुं प्राप्तवान् वृषवाहनात् ॥
ततो ब्रह्माऽथ तेनैव ब्रह्मणः शक्रमागतः ।
तेन सोमस्य तद्दत्तं ततो दक्षं समागतः ॥
तदाप्रभृति कुर्वन्ति नृपा अद्याऽपि चोच्छ्रयम् ।

1 ऋग्वेदोक्ता बहव इन्द्रप्रकाशका मन्त्रा अत्र अभिप्रेताः ।

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एवं यः कारयेद्राजा केतुं विजयकारकम् ॥
तस्य पृथ्वी घनोपेता सद्वीपा वशगा भवेत् ॥

इतीन्द्रध्वजोच्छ्रायविधिः[1] ॥

1 वी. मि., pp. 415–438 cites additional passages from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on the subject.

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अथ महानवमीपूजा

अथ आश्विनशुक्लनवम्यां देवीपूजा

तत्र देवीपुराणे[1]

ब्रह्मोवाच

हते घोरे महावीरे सुरासुरभयङ्करे ।
देव्या उपासका देवाः प्रभूता राक्षसास्तथा ॥
आगता घातितं दृष्ट्वा महिषं तं सुदुर्जयम् ।
ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशाना इन्द्रचन्द्रयमानिलाः ॥
आदित्या वसवो रुद्रा ग्रहा नागाः सगुह्यकाः ।
समेत्य सर्वे देवास्ते देवीं भक्त्याऽथ तुष्टुवुः ॥
वरं च सर्वलोकानां प्रददौ भयनाशिनी ।
बलिं ददुश्च भूतानां महिषाजामिषेण तु ॥
पुरेषु शङ्खभेर्यश्च शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।
कृता दुन्दुभिनादाश्च पटुशब्दाः समर्दलाः ॥
पताकाध्वजयन्त्रादि घण्टाचामरशोभितम् ।
तद्दिनं कारयेच्छक्र देवीभक्तः सुरोत्तम ॥
एवं तस्मिन् दिने वत्स भूतप्रेतसमाकुले ।
कृताऽथ सर्वदेवैश्च महापूजाऽथ शाश्वती ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 439. ff.

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आश्विने मासि मेघान्ते महिषारिनिबर्हिणीम् ।
देवीं सम्पूजयित्वा ये अर्धरात्रेऽष्टमीमुखे ॥
घातयन्ति पशून् भक्त्या ते भवन्ति महाबलाः ।
बलिं च ये प्रयच्छन्ति सर्वभूतविनाशकम् ॥
तेषां तु तुष्यते देवी यावत्कल्पं तु शाङ्करम् ।
क्रीडन्ति विविधैर्भोगैर्देवलोके सुदुर्लभे ॥
नाऽऽधयो व्याधयस्तेषां न च शत्रुभयं भवेत् ।
न च देवग्रहा दैत्या न सुरा न च पन्नगाः ॥
पीडयन्ति सुराध्यक्ष देवीपादसमाश्रितान् ।
यावद्भूर्वायुराकाशं जलं वह्निः शशी ग्रहाः ॥
तावच्च चण्डिका पूज्या भविष्यन्ति सदा भुवि ।
प्रावृट्काले विशेषेण आश्विने चाऽष्टमीषु च ॥
महाशब्दो नवम्यां च लोके ख्यातिं गमिष्यति ।
एतत्ते देवराजेन्द्र स्वर्गवासफलप्रदम् ॥
परापरविभागं तु क्रियायोगेन कीर्तितम् ॥

इन्द्र उवाच

आश्विनस्य सिते पक्षे नवम्यां प्रतिवत्सरम् ।
श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं तात उपवासव्रतादिकम् ॥

ब्रह्मोवाच

शृणु शक्र प्रवक्ष्यामि यथा त्वं परिपृच्छसि ।
महासिद्धिप्रदं धन्यं सर्वशत्रुनिबर्हणम् ॥
सर्वलोकोपकारार्थं विशेषात्पथिवृत्तिषु ।
कर्तव्यं ब्राह्मणाद्यैस्तु क्षत्रियैर्लोकपालकैः ॥

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गोधनार्थं तथा वैश्यैः शूद्रैः पुत्रसुखार्थिभिः ।
सौभाग्यार्थं तथा स्त्रीभिरन्यैश्च धनकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥

महाव्रतं महापुण्यं शङ्कराद्यैरनुष्ठितम् ।
कर्तव्यं देवराजेन्द्र देवीभक्तिसमन्वितैः ॥

कन्यासंस्थे रवौ शक्र शुक्लामारभ्य नन्दिकाम् ।
अयाचिताश्युपवासी नक्ताशी त्वथ वाग्यदः ॥

प्रातस्स्नायी जितद्वन्द्वस्त्रिकालं शिवपूजकः ।
जपहोमसमायुक्तः कन्यकां भोजयेत्सदा ॥

अष्टम्यां नवगेहानि दारुजानि शुभानि च ।
एकं वा वित्तभावेन कारयेत्सुरसत्तम ॥

तस्मिन् देवी प्रकर्तव्या हैमी वा राजताऽपि वा ।
वृक्षाद्वा लक्षणोपेता[1] खड्गे शूलेऽथ पूजयेत् ॥

सर्वोपहारसम्पन्ना वस्त्ररत्नफलादिभिः ।
कारयेद्रथदोलादि बलिपूजां च दैविकीम् ॥

पुष्पादिद्रोणबिल्वादिजातीपुन्नागचम्पकैः ।
विचित्रां रचयेत्पूजामष्टम्यां समुपासयेत् ॥

दुर्गाग्रतो जपेन्मन्त्रमेकचित्तः सुभावितः ।
तदर्द्धयामिनीशेषे विजयार्थं नृपः पशुम्[2] ॥

पश्चाब्दं लक्षणोपेतं गन्धधूपसुगन्धितम् ।
विधिवत्कालि कालीति जप्त्वा खड्गेन घातयेत् ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 441 , मूर्धाक्षिलक्षणोपेता

2 वी. मि., p. 441 ; Mss. read नृपोत्तम but an object for घातयेत् lower down is needed.

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तदुत्थं रुधिरं मांसं गृहीत्वा पूजनादिषु ।
नैर्ऋतेभ्यः प्रदातव्यं महाकौशिकमन्त्रितम् ॥

तस्याऽग्रतो नृपः स्नायाच्छत्रं कृत्वा तु पूजितम् ।
खड्गेन घातयित्वा तु दद्यात्स्कन्दविशाखयोः ॥

देवीं च स्नापयेत् प्राज्ञः क्षीरसर्पिर्जलादिभिः[1] ।
कुङ्कुमागुरुकर्पूरचन्दनैश्चाऽर्च्य धूपयेत् ॥

देयानि पुष्परत्नानि वासांसि त्वहतानि च ।
नैवेद्यं सुप्रभूतं तु देयं देव्याः सुभावितैः ॥

देवीभक्ताश्च पूज्यन्ते कन्यकाप्रमदादयः ।
द्विजान्दीनान्धपाषण्डान् अन्नपानेन तर्पयेत् ॥

नन्दाभक्ता नरा ये तु महाव्रतधराश्च ये ।
पूजयित्वा विशेषेण[2] तस्मात्तद्रूपमाविकम् ॥

मातृणां चैव देवीनां पूजा कार्या सदा निशि ।
ध्वजच्छत्रपताकादि उच्छ्रयेदम्बिकागृहे ॥

रथयात्रा बलिक्षेमं स्फुटवाद्यरवाकुलम् ।
कारयेत्तुष्यते येन देवी पशुनिपातनैः ॥

अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति भक्तितः सुरसत्तम ।
महानवम्यां पूजेयं सर्वकामप्रदायिका ॥

1 Reconstructed. Line corrupt in वी. मि., p. 441, and all three Mss ; A. S. B. has ततो देवीं स्नपेत् for purposes of metre, but it is ungrammatical ; the others read ततो देवीं स्नापयेत् , which breaks the *chhandas*.

2 वी. मि., p. 441 reads : पूजयेत्तान् विशेषेण

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सर्वेषु वत्स वर्णेषु तव भक्त्या प्रकीर्तिता ।
कृत्वाऽऽप्नोति यशोराज्यपुत्रायुर्धनसम्पदः ॥

इति महानवमीपूजा ॥

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अथ चिह्नविधिः[1]

तत्र देवीपुराणे

ब्रह्मोवाच

क्षीराशी कार्तिकारम्भे देवीभक्तिरतो नरः ।
शाकयावकएकाशी प्रातस्नायी शिवानतः ॥

पूजयेत्तिलहोमं तु दधिक्षीरघृतादिभिः ।
कुर्याद्देव्यास्तु मन्त्रेण शृणु पुण्यफलं हरे ॥

महापातकसंयुक्तो युक्तो वाऽप्युपपातकैः ।
मुच्यते नाऽत्र सन्देहो यस्मात्सर्वगता शिवा ॥

अन्यो वा भावनायुक्तस्त्वनेन विधिना शिवाम् ।
स्वयं वा अन्यतो वाऽपि पूजयेत्पूजयीत[2] वा ॥

न तस्य भवति व्याधिर्न च शत्रुकृतं भयम् ।
नोत्पातग्रहदौस्थ्यं वा न च राष्ट्रं विनश्यति ॥

सदा स्वभावसम्पन्ना ऋतवः शुभदा घनाः ।
निष्पत्तिः सर्वसस्यानां तस्करा न भवन्ति च ॥

प्रभूतपयसो गावो ब्राह्मणाश्च क्रियापराः ।
स्त्रियः पतिव्रताः सर्वा नृपा निर्वृतिकारिणः ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 443 ff : चिह्नेषु देवीपूजाविधिः

2 Mss. read पूजयेत

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फलपुष्पवती धात्री सस्यानि रसवन्ति च ।
भवेयुर्नाऽत्र सन्देहश्चर्चिकाविधिपूजनात् ॥
"जयन्ती मङ्गला काली भद्रकाली कपालिनी ।
दुर्गा क्षमा शिवा[1] धात्री स्वाहा स्वधा नमोऽस्तु वः" ॥
अनेनैव तु मन्त्रेण जपं होमं तु कारयेत् ।
प्रातस्तु संस्मृता वत्स महिषघ्नी सुपूजिता ॥
अघं नाशयते क्षिप्रं यथा सूर्योदये तमः ।
सिंहारूढा ध्वजे यस्य नृपस्य रिपुहा उमा ॥
द्वारस्था पूज्यते वत्स न तस्य रिपुजं भयम् ।
कपिसंस्था महामाया सर्वशत्रुविनाशिनी ॥
वृषे यथेप्सितं दद्यात्कलभे[2] श्रियमुत्तमम् ।
हंसे विद्यार्थकामं तु बर्हिणेऽभीष्टपुत्रदा ॥
गरुत्मति महामाया सर्वरोगविनाशिनी ।
महिषस्था महामारी शमयेत् ध्वजसंस्थिता ॥
करिगा सर्वकार्येषु नृपैः कार्या त्रिशूलिनी ।
पद्मस्था चर्चिका रौप्या धर्मकामार्थमोक्षदा ॥
प्रेतस्था सर्वभयदा नित्यं पशुनिपातनैः ।
पूजिता देवराजेन्द्र नीलोत्पलकरा वरा ॥
भवेत्तु सिद्धिकामस्य चिह्नाग्रे संव्यवस्थिता ।
गन्धपुष्पार्चितां कृत्वा वस्त्रहेमसुचर्चिताम् ॥

1 I. O., शिवा क्षमा

2 Mss. read कलशे, which does not fit in. वी. मि., p. 443 reads : कलभे

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फलशालियवैः शूकवर्द्धमानैर्विभूषिताम् ।
शोभनामुच्छ्रयेदग्रे पताकां वा मनोरमाम् ॥
चामरं कलशं शङ्खं सातपत्रं वितानकम् ।
भवेत्तु सिद्धिकामस्य नृपस्य फलदायकम् ॥
"नमो विश्वेश्वरि दुर्गे चामुण्डे मुण्डहारिणि[1] ।
ध्वजं समुच्छ्रयिष्यामि वसोर्धारासुखावहम्[2]" ॥

इति चिह्नविधिः ॥

1 I. O. and वी. मि., p. 443 : चण्डहारिणी

2 वी. मि., p. 444 , वसोर्धारां सुखावहाम्

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अथ गवोत्सर्गः

तत्र देवीपुराणे[1]

कृष्णपक्षे त्वमावास्या कार्तिकस्य ततः परे ।
योऽह्नि कुर्याद्गवोत्सर्गमश्वमेधफलं लभेत् ॥

सुवर्णदाने गोदाने भूमिदाने च यत्फलम् ।
तत्फलं कोटिगुणितं गवोत्सर्गेण लभ्यते ॥

तस्मान्मनोरमे स्थाने शाद्वले गर्त्तवर्जिते ।
शर्कराअश्मरहिते शङ्खभेरीनिनादिते ॥

स्तम्भद्वयं समारोप्य पूर्वपश्चिमसंस्थितम् ।
तत्र दर्भमयी कार्या शरवंशभवाऽथवा ॥

मध्ये कम्बलसंयुक्ता दीर्घरज्जुः सुशोभना ।
उभयोः पार्श्वयोर्विप्राः वेदध्वानिसमान्विताः ॥

एवं विधानतः कृत्वा उत्सर्गं कारयेत्ततः ।
प्रथमं गच्छते होता यजमानसमन्वितः ॥

ब्रह्मक्षत्त्रविशः शूद्रास्तथा गावः प्रजाः पुनः ।
तथाऽन्ये वर्णबाह्यास्तु चण्डालपरिवर्जिताः ॥

गच्छन्ति मुदिता हृष्टा हास्यतोषसमन्विताः ।
यस्त्वेवं कुरुते राजा पुरे ग्रामेऽथ पत्तने ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 446 ff.

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नश्यन्ति चेतयः सर्वाः प्रजानां नन्दने चिरम् ।
नाऽकाले म्रियते राजा पुत्रपौत्रैश्च वर्द्धते ॥

देवा भवन्ति सुप्रीतास्तथा वै मातरस्तथा ।
गोलोकं च लभेद्वत्स सर्वान् कामानवाप्नुयात् ॥

'ईतयः' प्रसिद्धाः ।

यथा

अतिवृष्टिरनावृष्टिर्मूषकाः शलभाः शुकाः ।
अत्यासन्नाश्च राजानः षडेता ईतयः स्मृताः[1] ॥

इति गवोत्सर्गः ॥

1 Comment and definition reproduced by वी. मि., p. 447.

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अथ वसोर्धारा

तत्र भविष्यपुराणे[1]

अगस्त्य उवाच—

वसोर्धारास्थिता देवी सर्वकामप्रदायिका ।
तथा ते कथयिष्यामि शृणु पुण्यविवृद्धये ॥
सर्वेषामेव देवानां कथितेयं मयोत्तमा ।
विशेषेण तु वह्निस्था आयुरारोग्यदा मता ॥
विजयं भूमिलाभं च मानवानां प्रियं तथा ।
विद्यासौभाग्यपुत्रादि कुण्डस्था सम्प्रयच्छति ॥
तस्मान्नृपेण भूत्यर्थं वसोर्धाराश्रिता शिवा ।
पूजनीया यथा शक्त्या सर्वकामफलप्रदा ॥
रुद्रादित्या ग्रहा विष्णुर्वयं यक्षाः सकिन्नराः ।
हुताशनमुखाः सर्वे दृष्टादृष्टफलप्रदाः ॥
गोदानं भूमिदानं च रत्नसर्पिस्तिलादि च ।
दानानि च महान्त्याहुस्तेषां धारा विशिष्यते ॥
विप्राणां कोटिकोटीनां भोजयित्वा तु यत्फलम् ।

1 These ślokas are attributed to देवीपुराण by वी. मि. p. 447 ff.

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[सद्वृत्तरतिना शान्ते एकेनाऽपि च तद्भवेत्[1] ॥
लभते तदवाप्नोति धारां दत्त्वा हुताशने][2] ।
व्यतीपातेन सन्देहः स च सूक्ष्मः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥

अयनं विषुवच्चैव दिनच्छिद्रं तथैव च ।
दुष्प्रापं दानहोमानां धारायां लभते नृप ॥

तस्मान्नृपेण वृद्ध्यर्थं दृष्टादृष्टजिगीषुणा ।
वसोर्धारा प्रकर्तव्या सर्वकामसुखावहा ॥

समं वा अर्द्धमर्द्धं वा ऋतुमासार्द्धवासरम् ।
कृत्वा विभवरूपेण शाश्वतं लभ्यते फलम् ॥

एकाहमपि यो देवीं कल्पयित्वा हुताशने ।
पातयेत्सर्पिषो धारां स लभेदीप्सितं फलम् ॥

देवीमातृसमीपस्थं शिवविष्णुसमीपगम् ।
भानोः प्रजापतेर्वाऽपि वसोर्धारागृहं भवेत् ॥

चिरन्तनेषु सर्वेषु स्वयं वा संस्कृतेषु च ।
पर्वतेषु च दिव्येषु नदीनां सङ्गमेषु च[3] ॥

गुहासु च विचित्रासु गृहगर्भेषु भूमिषु ।
दत्वा समीहितान् कामान् विधिना लभते नृप ॥

अथ सामान्यतो गेहं समसूत्रं जलोन्मुखम् ।
वास्तुसंशुद्धविन्यासमेकादशकरं परम् ॥

1 Udaipur Ms. corrupt : text follows I. O. and A. S. B.

2 Inserted from वी. मि., p. 448.

3 Line found only in Udaipur Ms.

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त्रीणि पञ्चाऽथवा सप्त दश वा नव कारयेत् ।
विंशकं वा यदेकोनं विंशदूर्ध्वं न कारयेत् ॥
पक्वेष्टं शैलदार्वं वा सालिन्दं सहतोरणम् ।
पञ्च सप्ताऽथ नव वा गवाक्षकविभूषितम् ॥
सर्वतोभद्रविन्यस्तं क्रमवृद्ध्या विवर्द्धितम् ।
ऊर्ध्वं वै धूमनिष्काशं सप्रकाशं विशेषतः ॥
सदेवसङ्गृहं कार्यमथवा दैवतैः समम्[1] ।
तस्य मध्ये भवेत्कुण्डं हस्तादिशुभलक्षणम् ॥
चतुष्कमथवा वृत्तं पङ्कजाकृति वाऽथवा ।
पृथिवीजयदं शाक्रं वृत्तं कामफलप्रदम् ॥

'शाक्रं'[2] चतुरस्रम् ।

पङ्कजे जयमारोग्यं योगदानफलप्रदम् ।
शेषाः कार्या विधानेन कुण्डाः कार्या विजानता ॥
सामान्यं सर्वहोमेषु शाक्रकुण्डं वरोत्तमम् ।
विस्तारं[3] खाततुल्यन्तु त्रिमेखलसमन्वितम् ॥
चतुस्त्रीन् द्वौ च वा कुर्यादङ्गुलान् कुण्डमानतः ।
द्विगुणं द्विगुणे कुण्डे होमानुसारेण कारयेत् ॥
एवं संसादयेद्विप्र ततः पात्रं सश्टङ्खलम् ।

1 वी. मि., p. 449 : देवतागमम् , explained as तत्कालानीतदेवप्रतिमम्

2 I. O., A. S. B. and Udaipur Mss. have mixed this explanation with this s'loka below beginning with चतुस्त्रीन्

3 वी. मि., p. 449. Mss. read विस्तारं चाऽत्र तुल्यन्तु

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हैमं वा राजतं वाऽपि ताम्रं वा लक्षणान्वितम् ॥

चतुर्भिः कटकैर्युक्तमयःशृङ्खलसङ्ग्रहम् ।
तस्य मध्ये भवेद्रन्ध्रं कार्यं वत्स शलाकया ॥

हेमोत्थया प्रमाणेन चतुरङ्गुलमानया ।
घृतनिष्क्रमणार्थाय कार्यं सम्यग्विपश्चिता ॥

पलैर्दशाभिरर्द्धोनैर्नाड्येकान्तु यथा व्रजेत् ।
पञ्चभिस्तु शतैर्होमः सप्तत्या च षडग्रयोः ॥

यथा पूर्णा व्रजेद्वत्स तथा कुर्यान्न चाऽन्यथा ।
हस्तमात्रं भवेद्धैमं शृङ्खलं भुजगाकृतिम् ॥

रन्ध्रे सूत्रनिबद्धं च अवलम्ब्य अधस्ततः ।
मणिं वा पङ्कजं यत्र साश्वत्थं कारयेत्तले[1] ॥

एवं कार्यास्तु रूपेण द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं च वा ।
कुर्यात्पात्रं घृतं चैव प्रतिष्ठादेवचोदितम् ॥

उद्देशं किञ्चिदत्राऽपि कथयामि नृपोत्तम ।
समायनमृतुर्मासपक्षाहोरात्रपूर्ववत् ॥

लग्नात्प्रसाधयेद्वत्स[2] सर्वकामप्रदा यदा ।
क्षणिकेषु च कार्येषु भक्तियुक्तः क्षणे शुभे ॥

क्षणं देवी च द्रष्टव्या यथा सर्वगता शिवा ।
तत्त्वभूता ग्रहा नागास्त्रिविधाऽपि शिवा गुणाः ॥

[नित्यनैमित्तिके होमे मन्त्रयोगेन दापयेत्[3] ।

1 वी. मि., p. 450 , मणिं वा पङ्कजम्पात्रमाबद्धं कारयेत्तले

2 वी. मि., p. 450 , लग्नाधिशोधयेत्

3 I. O. omits these two ślokas.

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यो यस्य भक्तिमासक्तः तस्य कुर्यात्सुसन्निधिम् ॥

सङ्ग्रहांल्लोकपालांश्च मातरो भुजगाञ्छिवान् ।
कल्पयेत्सर्वहोमेषु देवी एतेषु संस्थिता ॥]

स्थूलरूपा तु सा सर्वा तुष्टा देवी महाफला ।
कालादिबालिगन्धादिप्रतिष्ठां वत्स कारयेत् ॥

यथा सम्पत्तिसम्पन्नः सर्वकालं प्रदापयेत् ।
तदा मातृग्रहान् भूतांल्लोकपालान्निवेशयेत् ॥

हेमराजतताम्रान्वा स्वनिवेशोपलक्षितान् ।
वर्णपुष्पबलिं गन्धं दक्षिणादि यथाक्रमम् ॥

मातॄणां लोकपालानां ग्रहाणां च यथाविधि ।
हृदयेन प्रदेयं च मूलमन्त्रैः पुरातनैः ॥

अथवा सर्वसामान्यान् वैदिकानपि कारयेत् ।
अथर्वविधिना मन्त्रान् पूर्वोक्तान्वा यथा पुरा ॥

प्रभूतमन्नं नैवेद्यैर्भूरिदक्षिणसंयुतैः ।
कुर्यान्महाप्रयत्नेन[1] नाऽन्यथा तु कदाचन ॥

छेदे भयं विजानीयात्तदर्थं तत्र कारयेत् ।
महाव्याहृतिहोमेन यत्र तत्र निवेशयेत् ॥

मूलमन्त्रेण देव्यास्तु शृङ्खलं हृदयेन तु ।
घृतं शिरसो मन्त्रेण शिखया वाऽनुतापयेत् ॥

कवचेन तथा वह्निं रक्षयित्वा प्रदापयेत् ।
अस्त्रेण नेत्रमन्त्रेण[2] सर्वं सर्वत्र निक्षिपेत् ॥

1 Lacunae here in I. O.

2 Udaipur Ms. reads नेत्रमार्गेण

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लोकपालान् ग्रहान्नागान् द्वादशार्द्धेन पूजयेत् ।
शिवाद्यान् सनकाद्यांश्च देवाद्यानपि पूजयेत् ॥
नित्येषु च महाप्राज्ञ नैमित्तिकविशेषतः ।
पञ्चकानि च सप्तानि नवकानि क्रियादिकैः ॥
अग्नेर्वर्णश्च गन्धश्च शब्दश्चाऽऽकृतयस्तथा ।
विकाराश्च तदा वत्स बोद्धव्याः सिद्ध्यसिद्धिदाः ॥
तदन्ते वत्स सत्कार्या सर्वकामप्रदायिका ।
येन सान्निध्यमायाति सर्वहोमेषु मङ्गला ॥
"सहस्रार्चिर्महातेजो नमस्ते बहुरूपिणे ।
नमस्ते नीलकण्ठाय पीतवासाय पावक ॥
स्रुवमेखलहस्ताय ब्रह्माण्डदहने नमः ।
सर्वाशिने सर्वगते पावकाय नमो नमः ॥
दुर्गाय उग्ररूपाय स्त्रीलिङ्गाय स्वतेजसे[1] ।
वसु अश्विनिरूपाय सर्वाहाराय वै नमः ॥
त्वं रुद्र घोरकर्मासि घोरहा परमेश्वर ।
विष्णुस्त्वं जगतां पालो ब्रह्मा सृष्टिकरः स्मृतः ॥
त्वं च सर्वात्मको देव लोकपालतनुस्थितः ।
इन्द्राय वह्नये देव यमाय पिशिताशिने ॥
वरुणानिलसोमाय ईशदेवाय वै नमः ।
सूर्याय चन्द्ररूपाय भूसुताय बुधाय च ॥
बृहस्पतये शुक्राय सौरराह्वोश्च केतवे ।

1 वी. मि., p. 482 reads उग्राय

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सर्वगग्रहरूपाय व्यालमातररूपिणे ॥
वृष्टिः सृष्टिः स्थितिः [भूतिः] कर्त्रे च वरदाय च ।
नमस्ते स्कन्दमातस्ते स्कन्दपित्रे नमो नमः" ॥

कुण्डे वा मण्डले वाऽपि स्थण्डिले वाऽथ वा विभो ! ॥
महानसे वा[1] त्वां देव हुत्वा चेष्टं लभेन्नरः ॥

घृतं क्षीरं रसं धान्यं तिलान्व्रीहीन् कुशान् यवान् ।
भावादभावतो वाऽपि सततं होमयेत्तु यः ॥

एवं वित्तविहीनोऽपि नरो विगतकिल्बिषः ।
किं पुनर्नित्यहोमे तु वसोर्द्धारा हुताशने ॥

सर्वमङ्गलमन्त्रेण आहुतिं सम्प्रदापयेत् ।
लोकपालग्रहाणां तु ओंकारेण नमोन्तकैः ॥

स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैरशेषाणां होमः कार्यो नृपोत्तम ।
अन्नं चित्रं विशुद्धं च संस्कृतं घृतपायसैः ॥

होमयेद्विधिवद्विप्रो बलिं वाऽपि प्रदापयेत् ।
सितवस्त्रधरो भूपः सबलः सहवाहनः ॥

पूजयेच्छत्ररत्नादीन् मातरं पितरं द्विजान् ।
आचार्यान्बान्धवांल्लोकान्सर्वाश्रमरताश्च ये ॥

नटनर्तकवेश्याश्च कन्यकाविधवास्त्रियः ।
दीनान्धकृपणांश्चैव अन्नदानेन पूजयेत् ॥

एवं निवेशनं कृत्वा नित्यं जप्यं शतं शतम् ।

1 वी. मि., p. 452 reads : महानसे वा भ्राष्ट्रे वा

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प्रातर्मध्याह्नसन्ध्यायां तत्र शान्तिः प्रकीर्तिता ॥
भवते नृपराष्ट्रस्य पूर्वोक्तफलदायकम् ॥

(इति वसोर्द्धारानिवेशनविधिः)

[तत्रैवोक्तम्]

ब्रह्मोवाच

तप्तहाटकवर्णाभः सूर्यसिन्दूरकान्तिभृत्[1] ।
शङ्खकुन्देन्दुपद्माभो घृतक्षीरनिभः शुभः ॥
जयाभोऽशोकपुष्पाभो लाक्षाजलजसन्निभः ।
शुभदः सर्वकार्याणां विपरीतो ह्यसिद्धिदः ॥
मेघदुन्दुभिशङ्खानां [[2]वेणुवीणास्वनः शुभः ।
वृषभशिखिकाकानां] कोकिलस्वनपूजितः ॥
कुङ्कुमागुरुकर्पूरमदरोचनगन्धवान् ।
मांस्येलाकुष्टतगरासितगन्धी च पूजितः ॥
हंसच्छत्रे(भगो)कुम्भपद्माकृतिकरः शुभः ।
सिंहबर्हिणशैलानां चामराकृतिरिष्टदः ॥
सधूमोऽमृतगन्धी च शुकषट्चरणोपमः[3] ।
छिन्नज्वालोऽथवा रोदी नेष्टः सर्वेषु पावकः ॥

1 वी. मि., p. 453 ff. Udaipur Ms. reads वर्णभृत्
2 Lacunae in both I. O. and A. S. B. between the brackets.
3 So, I. O.; A. S. B. and वी. मि., p. 453 read शुकास्यचरणोपमः

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सुसंहतशिखः शस्त उर्ध्वं प्रज्वलितोऽपि वा ।
लेलिहानः शुभः कुण्डे दीप्तिमान् वरदोऽनलः ॥

एवंविधः सदैवाऽथ यज्ञे वैश्वानरो हितः ।
यात्रायां शक्रकेतौ च सर्वकार्येषु सिद्धिदः ॥

न्यूना या वहते धारा मानात्सर्पिर्न सा शुभा ।
नाऽधिका शस्यते विप्र दुर्भिक्षकालिकारिका ॥

त्रुट्यते वहमाना या शाम्यते वा हुताशनः ।
साऽपि चाऽन्यं नृपन्त्विच्छेद्या च धारा पतेद्बहिः ॥

वज्रा नदी[1] महारूपा मनोज्ञा क्रियकारिका ।
सुवर्णा हेमवर्णा च धारा राज्यविवृद्धये ॥

सन्तता पतते या च तनोतीव च पावकम् ।
तनोति स नृपं राष्ट्रं वसोर्धारा न संशयः ॥

सुगन्धिस्वस्थविमलकृमिकीटविवर्जितम् ।
शस्यते वसुधारायां सर्पिर्गव्यं च पूजितम्[2] ॥

अभावाद्गन्धमाज्यं वा होतव्यं च सुशोभनम् ।
घृतक्षौद्रपयोधारा सर्वपीडानिवारिणी ॥

गुडूचिशकलैर्होमः सहकारदलैः शुभः ।
अश्वत्थमालतीदूर्वा आयुरारोग्यपुत्रदा ॥

सौभाग्यं च श्रियं देवी प्रयच्छत्यविचारणा ।
आच्छाद्य वा शुभा वत्स सफलाः सर्वकामिकाः ॥

होतव्याः सर्वकालं तु साततत्यात्समिधो नृप ।

1 वी. मि., p. 454 ऋजुनादा for वज्रा नदी

2 Line omitted by Udaipur Ms.

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सर्वकालं घृतं प्रोक्तं निमित्ते च निमित्ततः ॥
विशुद्धसर्पिषो यानि तानि चाऽत्र विचारयेत् ।
ज्वालावशं शुभं गन्धं सर्वहोमेषु लक्षयेत् ॥
संयतैः संयताहारैः सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगैः ।
जपहोमरतैर्भूप धारा देया तु तद्विधैः ॥
पाषण्डविकलांल्लुब्धान् धर्मापेतान् बहिष्कृतान् ।
सर्वकालप्रवादांश्च न वदेन्नाऽवलोकयेत् ॥
मृत्युञ्जयं[1] तथा मन्त्रं चतुर्थ्यन्तं जपेत्तदा ।
भाग्यवान्नित्यहोमे तु अन्यथा विफलं भवेत् ॥
सामान्या या भवेद्धारा तत्र जप्यं शतं शतम् ।
प्रातर्मध्याह्नसन्ध्यासु सर्वकामसमृद्धये ॥
वसुर्द्रव्यं घृतं वाऽऽज्यममृतं हविष्कामिकम् ।
तत्र धारा सदा देया वसोर्धारा हि सा मता ॥
वसुनाऽपत्यकामेन दक्षेण च महात्मना ।
मया च विष्णुना शक्र रुद्रेण च सहोमया ॥
आत्मानं च स्वरूपेण धारायान्तु प्रपातितम् ।
देवी सान्निध्यमायाता सर्वकामप्रदायिका ॥
तस्मात् त्वमपि राजेन्द्र वसोर्द्धारां प्रदापय ।
नातः परतरं पुण्यं विद्यते नृपसत्तम ॥
वसोर्धाराप्रदानस्य एकाहमपि यद्भवेत् ।
नृपेण पुष्टिकामेन परराज्यजिगीषुणा ॥

1 'त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे' (V, 4, 30) इति ऋक्संहितोक्तो मृत्युञ्जयमन्त्रो-ऽत्र सूच्यते ।

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देया धारा सदा वत्स रिपुनाशाय विद्धि ताम् ।
विच्छेदो नित्यहोमस्य न कार्यस्तु कदाचन ॥

महादोषमवाप्नोति यः कुर्याद्विमुखान् सुरान् ।
द्रव्याभावे घृताभावे नृपतस्करजे भये ॥

यदि नो वहते धारा तदा छिद्रं न विद्यते[1] ।
होमं कृत्वा क्षमापेत देवदेवीं नृपोत्तम ॥

पुनः प्राप्ते भवेद्वत्स प्रतिष्ठा विधिचोदिता ।
महत्याश्विनमासे तु अष्टमीनवमीषु च ॥

कार्तिक्यां माघचैत्रे तु चित्रायां रोहिणीषु च ।
वैशाख्यां तु प्रदातव्या ज्येष्ठा ज्येष्ठस्य सत्तम ॥

आषाढे द्वादशी चोक्ता अष्टमी पूर्णिमा नभे ।
नभस्ये रोहिणी वत्स चतुर्थ्यां भौमवासरे ॥

सङ्क्रान्तिषु च सर्वासु गुरुसौरभवासु च ।
चन्द्रसूर्योपरागेषु प्रतिष्ठायज्ञकर्मणि ॥

पुत्रोत्सवे प्रदातव्या जन्मपुष्पाभिषेचने ।
मार्गे व्रतनिबन्धे तु सुघोरे केतुदर्शने[2] ॥

ग्रहकृत्योपशमने धारा देया शुभावहा ।
एवं यो वाहयेद्धारां शास्त्रदृष्टेन कर्मणा ॥

तस्य भूः सिद्ध्यते सर्वा सनगा सहसागरा ।
अश्वमेधसमं पुण्यं दिनहोमात्प्रजायते ॥

1 I. O. and A. S. B. as well as वी. मि., p. 455 read न विद्यते for च विद्यते in Udaipur Ms.

2 केतु i. e. धूमकेतु

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वाजपेयशतं रात्रावग्निष्टोमशतं तथा ।
आधयो व्याधयस्तस्य न भवन्ति कदाचन ॥
आयुरारोग्यमैश्वर्यं तदन्ते च सुखी भवेत् ॥

इति वसोर्धाराविधिः ॥

इति श्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रमहाराजसन्धिविग्रहिक-
श्रीलक्ष्मीधरभट्टविरचिते कृत्यकल्पतरौ
राजधर्मकाण्डं सम्पूर्णम् ॥

॥ शुभमस्तु[1] ॥

1 A. S. B., संवत् १७६२ मिति आश्विनवदि अष्टमी चन्द्रवासरे ।

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APPENDIX A

Vedic Mantras cited

पृ. १०, ऋताषाडिति त्रयोदश राष्ट्रभृन्मन्त्राः—'ऋताषाड् ऋतधामाग्निर्गन्धर्वः'—वाज. सं., १८, ३८; तैत्तिरीय. सं., ३, ४, ७, १; मै. सं., २, १२, २; काठक. सं., १८, १४; शतपथब्रा., ९, ४, १, ७.

पृ. १०, 'गणः'–ईदृगन्या गृह्ये—(?)

पृ. १०, 'अप्रतिरथः'—'आशुः शिशान'—'आशुरिशशानो वृषभो न युध्मः'—तै. सं., ४, ६, ४, १; मै. सं., २, १०, ४; काठ. सं., १८, ५; आशुरिशशानो वृषभो न भीमः, ऋ. सं., १०, १०३, १. अथ. सं., १९, १३, १.

पृ. १०, 'सत्यगणः'—'आगात् सत्यम्'—'आगातसत्यं हविरिदम् जुषाणम्'—तै. ब्रा., ३, १२, ३, २.

पृ. १०, 'धर्मगणः'—'यास्ते अग्ने घोरास्तनुवः'—'यास्ते अग्ने घोरास्तनुवस्ताभिरमुं गच्छ'—तै. ब्रा., १, १, ७, ३ ; 'यास्ते अग्ने घोरास्तनुवः क्षुच्च तृष्णा चास्नुक् चानाहुतिश्चाशनया च पिपासा च सेदिश्चामतिश्चैतास्ते अग्ने घोरास्तनुवस्ताभिरमुं गच्छ योऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि यञ्च वयं द्विष्मः'—तै. आर., ४, २२, १.

पृ. १०, 'अभयः'—'यत इन्द्र'—'यत इन्द्र भयामहे ततो नो अभयं कृधि'—तै. ब्रा., १५, ४, ३; तै. आर., १०, १, ९; ऋ. सं., ८, ६१, १३; अथ. सं., १९, १५, १; साम. सं., १, २७४; पं. ब्रा., १५, ४, ३.

पृ. १०, 'स्वस्त्ययनम्'—'स्वस्तिदा विशस्पतिः'—ऋ. सं., १०, १५२, २; अथ. सं., १, २१, १; ८, ५, २२; षड्वि. ब्रा., ५, १; तै. ब्रा., ३, ७, ११, ४; तै. आ., १०, १, ९; महानारायणोपनिषद्, २०, ५.

पृ. ४९, 'स्वप्नमाणवकं'—'यज्जाग्रत'—('शिवसङ्कल्पं') 'यज्जाग्रतो दूरं उदैति दैवम्'—वा. सं., ३४, १.

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पृ. ७०, 'वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीहि'—'वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीहि अस्मान्'—
ऋ. सं., ७, ५४, १; तै. सं., ३, ४, १०, १.

पृ. ७७, 'आपो हिष्ठा मयो भुवः'—('आपोहिष्ठीयम्') ऋ. सं., १०, ९, १; अथ. सं., १, ५, १; सा. सं., २. ११८, ७; वा. सं., ११, ८०; तै. सं., ४, १, ५, १; ५, ६, १, ४; ७, ४, १९, ४; मै. सं., २, ७, ५; काठ. सं., १६, ४; १९, ५; ३५, ३; शत. ब्रा., ६, ५. १, २; तै. ब्रा., ३, ९, ७, ५; तै. आ., ४, ४२, ४; १०, १, ११.

पृ. ७७, 'अच्युताय भौमाय स्वाहा'—आश्व. गृ., २, १, ४; पारस्कर., ३, ४, ३.

पृ. ७७, 'इहैव तिष्ठ निमिता' cf, आप. मन्त्रब्रा., २, १५, ३—४ :—

'इहैव तिष्ठ निमिता तिल्विला स्यादिरावती ।
मध्ये ताल्प्यस्य तिष्ठान्मा त्वा प्रापन्नघाय वः ॥
आ त्वा कुमारस्तरुण आ वत्सो जगता सह ।
आ त्वा परिस्रुतः कुम्भा आ दध्नः कलशैरयन् ॥

पृ. ७७, 'आ त्वा कुमारः' 'आ त्वा परिस्रुतु', *supra*.

पृ. ७७, 'ऋतेन स्थूणामधिरोह वंश'—आप. गृ., ७, १७, ५; आप. मन्त्रब्रा., २, १५, ५—ऋतेन स्थूणावधि रोह वँशगोत्रा विराजन्नप सेध शत्रून् ।

पृ. ७७, 'पृथिव्या अधि सम्भव'—आश्वला. गृ., २, ९, ३.

पृ. ७७, 'ऐतु राजा वरुणो रेवतीभिः'—आश्व. गृ., २, ९, ५; कात्या. श्रौ., २५, ५, २८.

पृ. ७८, 'आपो हिष्ठामयो भुवः' *vide* references to पृ. ७७ *supra*.

पृ. ७८, 'वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीहि अस्मान्' *See* references to पृ. ७० *supra*.

पृ. १८५, 'इन्द्रं यच्छ' (?)

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APPENDIX B

Authors or works cited

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APPENDIX C

IDENTIFICATION OF QUOTATIONS

(In addition to those noted in the foot-notes)

पृ. ७, बृहस्पतिः, व्यवहार, १, ६६.

पृ. ३३, महाभारतम्, शान्तिपर्व, अ. ८५. श्लो. २६ :

न तु हन्यान्नृपो जातु दूतं कस्याञ्चिदापदि ।
दूतस्य हन्ता निरयमाविशेत्सचिवैस्सह ॥

पृ. ४०, बृहस्पतिः, व्यवहार, १, २८.

पृ. ४१, बृहस्पतिः, व्यवहार, १, २९-३५.

पृ. ४३, बृहस्पतिः, व्यवहार, १, ४५-४७.

पृ. ८२, बृहस्पतिः, व्यवहार, १, ३६-३७, ३८.

पृ. ८५, बृहस्पतिः, व्यवहार, १, ३९-४२.

पृ. ८७, महाभारतम्, शान्तिपर्व, अ० १३०, श्लो० ७० ('अधनं दुर्बलं'); अ. ८२, श्लो. २, ('यो राजकोशं'); अ. ११५, श्लो. २०, ('कोशाक्षपटलम्')

पृ. ८९, बृहस्पतिः, व्यवहार, १, ४३-४४.

पृ. १७५, महाभारतम्, उद्योगपर्व, अ. ३३, श्लो. १००-१०२.

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APPENDIX D

INDEX OE HALF-VERSES

* = Prose citations. * * = Citations from foot-notes.

अ. = अङ्गिरस्स्मृतिः ; आ. पु. = आदित्यपुराणम् ; आप. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रम् ; उश. = उशनस्स्मृतिः ; कात्या. = कात्यायनः ; गौ. = गौतमधर्मसूत्रम् ; देव. = देवलः ; देवी. पु. = देवीपुराणम् ; नार. = नारदस्मृतिः ; परा. = पराशरस्मृतिः ; बह्व. गृ = बह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्टम् ; ब्रह्म. पु. = ब्रह्मपुराणम् ; बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृतिः ; बो. = बोधायनधर्मसूत्रम् ; भार. = महाभारतम् ; भवि. पु. = भविष्यपुराणम् ; मनु. = मनुस्मृतिः ; मत्स्य. पु. = मत्स्यपुराणम् ; मार्क. पु. = मार्कण्डेयपुराणम् ; यम. = यमस्मृतिः ; याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिः ; लक्ष्मी. = लक्ष्मीधरः ; वसि. = वसिष्ठधर्मशास्त्रम् ; व्या. = व्यासस्मृतिः ; विष्णु. = विष्णुस्मृतिः ; शङ्ख. = शङ्खस्मृतिः ; श. लि. = शङ्खलिखितस्मृतिः ; रामा. = रामायणम् ; स्क. पु. = स्कन्दपुराणम्.

References are to pages in the text

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APPENDIX E

LIST OF WORKS ON RĀJADHARMA AND RĀJANĪTI

(Omitting the Epics, Purāṇas and the Smṛtis)

Portions of Digests (Nibandha)

Gopāla-*Rājadharma-Kāmadhenu* (referred to by Caṇḍeśvara; no manuscript known). *Circa* 1100 A. D.

* Lakṣmīdhara—*Rājadharmakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtya-kalpataru*

* Caṇḍeśvara—*Rājanītiratnākara* (ed. K P Jayaswal, 1924); c. 1350 A, D.

Vācaspatimiśra-*Nīticintāmaṇi* (c. 1460 A D.)

* Mitramiśra-*Rājanītiprakās'a*, (c. 1612 A. D.)

* Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa. *Nītimayūkha* (ed. Gujarati Press, 1921; ed. J. R. Gharpurey, 1925)

Ananta Bhaṭṭa-*Rājanītikāṇḍa* (c. 1650 A. D.), part of *Rāma-Kalpadruma*

* Anantadeva-*Rājadharma-kaustubha* (c. 1660 A. D.), G. O. S. No. 72, 1935

Special Topics of Rājadharma

* Vardhamāna-*Daṇḍaviveka* (c. 1450 A. D.); G. O. S., No. 52, 1931

* Raghunandana-*Vāstuyāgatatva* (c. 1550 A. D.), 1895

Toḍarmal-*Rājyābhiṣeka-krama* (from *Toḍarānanda*) c. 1580 A. D.

Dinakara (Divākara)-*Rājyābhiṣeka-paddhati* (c. 1600 A. D from the *Dinakaroddyota*.)

Kamalākara-*Rājyābhiṣeka-prayoga* (c. 1600 A. D.)

Raghunātha Samrāṭ-sthapati—*Rājyābhiṣeka-prayoga* (c. 1620 A. D.)

Commentaries on Smṛtis

* Viśvarūpa-*Bālakrīḍā* (c. 825 A. D.); commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti; 1922-24.

* Medhātithi-*Manubhāṣya* (Bibliotheca Indica, 1932-39, G. Jha) c. 850 A. D.

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* Govindarāja-*Manuvṛtii* (ed. Mandlik, 1886), c. 1100 A. D.
* Vijñāneśvara-*Mitākṣarā* (c. 1120 A. D.); commentary on the same.
* Aparārka - *Yājnavalkyasmṛti-ṭīkā* (c. 1125 A. D.); 1903-1904
* Mādhavācārya-*Parās'arasmṛti-bhāṣya* (ed. *Bib. Ind,* and Islampurkar, 1893-1911)
  Nandapaṇḍita-*Kes'avavaijayantī* (Viṣṇusmṛti-vyākhyā) c. 1623 A. D. Collated manuscript with the Editor.

Arthas'āstra and Nītis'āstra

* Kauṭilya-*Arthas'āstra* (c. 300 B. C.) ed. Shama Sastri, 1909; ed. J. Jolly and R. Schmidt, 1923-4; Gaṇapati S'āstri with his commentary, *S'rīmūlam,* 1924-5; Bhaṭṭasvamin ' s *bhāṣya,* ed. Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri, 1926.
* Kāmandaka-*Nītisāra* (c. 400 A. D.); Bib. Indica, ed. R. L. Mitra, 1861; ed. Gaṇapati S'āstri with the *Jayamangala* of S'ankarārya, 1912.
* Somadeva-*Nītivākyāmṛta* with commentary, 1923
* *S'ukranītisāra,* ed G. Oppert, 1882 (cited by Caṇḍeśvara); c. 12 th century (?)
* *Bārhaspatya-Arthas'āstram* (ed. F. W. Thomas, 1921)
* *Cāṇakya-rājanīti-s'āstram*; ed. Isvaracandra Sastri, 1919; ed. J. Van Maanen, 1926
* Vaiśampāyana-*Nītiprakās'ikā* (ed. G. Oppert, 1882)
  Cāṇākya-nīti-sūtram (collated Mss with the Editor)
* Bhoja-*Yuktikalpataru* (1917) c. 1030 A. D.
* Someśvara Cālukya-*Abhilasārtha-cintāmaṇi* or *Mānasollasa* c. 1129 A. D.; G. O. S., 1935-1940
* Hemacandra-*Laghu-Arhannīti* (12th century). 1906.

Miscellaneous

* Varāhamihira-*Bṛhatsamhitā* (with the commentary of Utpala, 1895-97. (ed. Sudhākara Dvivedi)

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APPENDIX F

Readings of MS. * *No. 2367 in the Anūp Sanskrit Library, Fort, Bikanir*

References are by page and line to the printed text of *Rājadharma-Kāṇḍam.*

Page 1, line 6 Begins—श्री गणेशाय नमः । श्री सिद्धिविनायकाय नमः । instead of ओं विघ्नराजाय निर्विघ्नफलदायिने ; 9 तत्सर्वे for तत्सर्वम्.

2, 14 सोऽग्निर्भवति for भवतु.

3, 10 यदा चार्थि for यदात्वर्थि.

4, 9 तदाग्नेयव्रतं for तदाग्नेयं व्रतम ; 10 समः for समम्.

5, 17 पाशुपाल्यादिवृत्तिः for पशुपाल्यादिवृत्तिः.

6, 4 कार्यं वाऽपेक्षशक्तिं च for कार्यं चावेक्ष्य ; 8 तस्यत्त्वाशु for तस्मात्त्वशु.

7, 3 Reads तमुपासीनमध्यस्थात् ; 13 योगक्षेमं for योगः क्षेमं.

9, 7 कश्मीरायान्तु for काश्मीरायान्तु ; 8 Reads सर्वलक्षणसंपूर्णे युक्तस्त्वभिषेच्यो नवस्तदा.

11, 2 omits तथा.

13, 13 विभज्य वा for विभज्य च.

14, 16 महीपतिः for महीपतेः ; 19 सेवनम् for सेचनम्.

16, 13 Reads श्रीमान् मालाविभूषिताम्.

18, 10 Reads जितकामरागद्वेष for जितरागद्वेष.

20, 4 धर्मसत्यपरः for सत्यधर्मपरः.

21, 18 'तत्वं' सुरशतं (?) for तत्वं सुरेशत्वम्.

27, 10 Reads धर्माधिकारणी भवेत्; Penultimate and last lines, and first line on p. 28 given as in A.S.B. and I. O.

31, 19 Reads परचरितज्ञानं for चरितज्ञानं.

* Transcript No. 13981 of the Baroda Oriental Institute.

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33, 14 Reads चिकीर्षितां for चिकीर्षितम्; 15 Reads परराजचिकीर्षितां for परराजचिकीर्षितम्.

36, 14 पर्यास्तिकाश्रयं for पर्यस्तिकाश्रयम्.

37, 6 सुनिश्चिते for सुनिश्चितम्.

41, 13 प्रदद्यात् for प्रदेयात्.

42, 6 'स्निग्धैः' for सिद्धैः.

48, 8 Interpolates here.

चण्डालपतेषां सुरहिते कुशादिभिरनावृते ।
चलगन्धसमायुक्ता महीस्वादोपलक्षिता ॥

51, 13 Reads सर्वदार्णसमन्वितम् for सर्ववर्णसमन्वितम्.

52, 13 शस्तः परि for शस्तपरि; 15 शक्तः for शक्र.

53, 4 पूर्वोत्तरे for पूर्वोत्तरम्.

54, 1 देया च नान्यथा for देया न चान्यथा; 11 शुभा यथा for शुभावहा; 15 चाऽस्थ for वाऽस्थ.

55, 3 कालफलम् omitted; 12 विद्यात् for विन्देत्.

56, 1 नक्षत्रफलम् omitted; 4 वारफलम् omitted; 6 omitted; 7 वज्र for वर्ज्यम्; 8 परिधं वज्र for परिध वज्र योगेषु योगेषु कारयेत् [न]कारयेत्; 9 omitted; 12 omitted; 15 omitted.

57, 13 ज्येष्ठोतर for ज्येष्ठोत्तम.

58, 1 omitted.

59, 8 सुग्रीवाददितिं for सुग्रीवादितिम्; 9 क्रमवित् रज्जु एव तु for क्वचिद्रज्जव एव तु। probably it should be read as क्रमाद्रज्जव एव तु; 10 पदमध्यं for पदं मध्यम्; 12 वेधेषु for विधिषु; 13 कुश for कुड्य; 14 सर्वस्तु for सर्वत्र; 17 प्रयत्नतः for सदा बुधैः; 18 and 60, 1 are omitted.

60, 11 शुक्रः for शक्रः.

61, प्रकल्पयेत्। is immediately followed by 17 and 18 beginning with चतुश्शालम् etc. Then the prose passage शुभनिरीक्षितं etc., is written up to भवन्ति इत्यर्थः। सूत उवाच; 15 is omitted.

62, 3 सर्वतोभद्रं for सर्वतो भद्रम्; 7 धन्वकं for धन्यकम्.

63, 10 omitted; 18 वाधिकम् for चाधिकम्.

64, 8 दीयते for हीयते; 14 विस्तरात् द्वादशैव च for विस्तारो द्वादशैव च.

65, 8 चतुर्दशहिते for चतुर्दशहृते.

66, 14 omits the following:—पञ्चहस्तप्रमाणा शाला भवति। पञ्चत्रिंशोद्धृत इति। तस्मिन्नेव नवाशीति विस्तारे राजवेश्मनि; 19 omitted.

67, 13 omitted.

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68, 1 कूपे वेधेन for कूपवेधेन; 15 and 16 omitted; 17 वापि for चापि; 18 omitted.

69, 15 omitted; 18 comes after 16 and 17 comes as line 18.

70, 3 omitted; 9 सांवत्सरं प्रो for सांवत्सरप्रो.

72, 1 शान्ते for ईशाने; 11 संख्या for संस्था.

73, 15 omitted.

74, 1 गृहे दारु for गृह दारु; 6 वा for च.

75, 2 पूर्वं छिन्नं for पूर्वछिन्नम्; 3 omitted.

76, 2 वसने for शमने; 21 स्पन्देरन् प्रवदन्त्यः तत्सर्वं etc. for स्यन्देरन् अप्रपतत्यतस्सर्वम् etc.

77, 2-3 साधूताह भवति युवानस्तस्यां कितवाः कलहिनः प्रमायुक्ता भवन्ति यत्र सर्वतः आपः प्रस्पन्देरन् सा स्वस्त्ययिन्ययूता व; 17 पोषस्वतिष्ठतीं आत्वा प्रणद्याय वा आत्वा कुमारस्तरुण आवत्सो जायतादिह आत्वा परिश्रित्यः कुम्भ आदध्नः कलशैरयतिति। for पोषस्य etc. to the end of the paragraph.

78, 2 इति वास्तु शान्तिः for इति वास्तु कर्मविधिः.

79, 1 अथ राष्ट्रम् for अथ राष्ट्रसंग्रहणम्.

81, 8 अथाशक्तो for अशक्तो; 12 द्विसौवर्णिकी for द्विसौववर्णिकी; 13 षाण्मास्यं for षाण्मास्यस्म.

82, 2 लक्षणगुणाधिकेषु for लक्षणाधिकेषु.

85, 2 एतदर्थकृतो for एतदर्थम्; 5 अन्यायवर्तिनः for अन्यायवेदिनः.

86, 8 अनवेक्षित for अनपेक्षित; 14 राष्ट्रम् for राष्ट्रसंग्रहणम्.

89, 3 omitted.

91, 5 च omitted after सर्ववर्णानाम्.

92, 5 उद्वाहकरं तु आगमयेत् omitted; 9 मासस्य एकं for मास्येकैकम्

93, 4 यथोचितादधिक . . . च्छेदः in line 5 omitted.

94, omits line 5 and up to वर्णसङ्कर in line 6; 13 omitted.

95, 10 इति दण्डः omitted.

97, 2 यो यस्मिन् for योऽस्मिन्; 5 अर्थे युक्त्या for अर्थयुक्त्या; 13 सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते for राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते; 16 समस्ता राष्ट्रं for सप्ताङ्गं राष्ट्रम्.

104, 14 वियानाम् for विधानाम्.

105, 17 समाश्वस्तः for समाश्वासः.

107, 12 अखिलो for स खिलो.

112, 1 अपकृते for अप्रकृते.

114, 6 omitted.

117, 18-19 omitted.

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118, 9 रथाकुला for समाकुला.

120, 11 नागेन्द्र for गजेन्द्र.

122, 8 जीवताम् for जीवानाम्.

126, 2 तथा omitted.

127, 8 वर्णयेत् for वर्णनम्; 16 तथा omitted.

129, 9 वा for च; 12 मनुः omitted.

132, 11 शरणागतः for शरणं गतः.

133, 13 ब्राह्मणस्वान्यपजिगीषमाणः प्रत्यानेतुमिच्छन् युध्यमानो हन्येत असौ साक्षाद्यज्ञ धर्मस्थितः इत्यर्थः. It is noteworthy that this manuscript follows the reading of the *Vīramitrodaya*, reproduced in footnote 3 of this page, and omits up to हन्यते in line 3 in the next page.

138, 7 [प्रदद्यात् परिहारान्] omitted.

139, 7 (अथ पौरुषम्) omitted; 9 विधाने for विधानम्.

141, 15 (इति पौरुषम्) omitted.

142, 6 (स्वम्) omitted.

143, 6 अथ यात्रा omitted.

156, 16 Comes after line 1 in the next page.

158, 1 वर्जयेत् for नेजयेत्; 15 विषदो for विषादो.

160, 15 मालानाम् for आम्नानाम्.

161, 3-4 omitted; 15 पुनः पुनः for पुनर्जनम्.

167, 2 वस्तूनि for वसूनि; 10 मुखोद्गतम् for मुखेहुतम्; 15 अपहृतम् for उपहृतम्; 17 bracketted portion in this and the succeeding line are omitted.

169, 9 अकिञ्चनौ for अकिञ्चनम्.

171, 6 शूद्रः for शुद्राः; 13 वा for च.

172, 6 भूमिपः for भूपतिः.

174, 11 एवं विद्वानविद्वांश्च for the first pāda.

175, 1 सन्ति पैतृस्यात् for सन्नियन्तृस्या; 3 तासु for स्वासु.

180, 9 राज्ञा for राजा.

181, 18 omitted.

183, additional line between lines 2 and 3 बलयः पुष्कलाश्चैव भक्ष्यभोज्यैरलङ्कृताः दीपांश्च; 23 omitted.

184, 7 शुभान् for द्रुमान्; 14 चन्दनं for चम्पकम्.

185, 4 दक्षपते for वृक्षपते.

186, 12 रसानाम् for वाससाम्.

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190, 3 ध्वजोच्छ्रायः for ध्वजोच्छ्रायविधिः.

191, The Chapter-heading is omitted.

198, 7 omitted.

200, 9 omitted.

202, 2 omitted; 15 omitted.

203, 2 omitted; 10 शाक्तम् for शाक्रम्; 11 omitted; 15 वात्र for खात.

204, 12 कार्यानुरूपेण for कार्यास्तु रूपेण; 20 From here there is an omission till line 4 in the next page (205).

208, 3 इति omitted; 4 omitted; 10 lacunae as in both I. O. and A. S. B. mentioned under footnote 2; 16 शुकस्य चरणोपमाः for शुकषट्चरणोपमाः.

212, 4 omitted; At the end the following date is recorded Samvat 1737 समरोसावदी ५.

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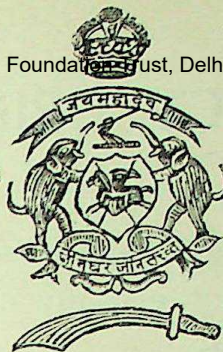
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